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SURVEY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

C. KUNHAN RAJA

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
BOMBAY

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SURVEY

OF

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

BY

C. KUNHAN RAJA

FOREWORD

BY

K. M. MUNSHI

1962

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

BOMBAY

HIND BOOKSHOP

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FOREWORD

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja has performed a rare feat of compressing the history of Sanskrit literature in this readable and instructive book of less than 400 pages.

Sanskrit literature is unequalled in richness, variety and continuity. From the second millennium before Christ, or possibly earlier, to the 18th century of the Christian Era, it has produced a wealth of literature, sacred and profane, poetic and scientific, philosophic and juristic.

It has made Indian culture the mighty phenomenon in history. It has also been the medium, direct or indirect, which influenced thought and life from the Middle East to Japan in the north and Cambodia in the south. It has contributed to the Arab literature and science in some respects and given a new inspiration to modern European thought and literature.

In beauty, it is scarcely excelled by the Greek literature. In variety, it can stand comparison with Arab literature. And in profundity of thought or intensity of emotion, delicacy of touch or erotic exuberance or in expressing the joy of life, some parts of it can stand comparison with the best in modern literature.

It is unfortunate that Sanskrit is treated as a dead language and its literature no more than a relic of the past, even by some enlightened Indians. In fact, however, it created the *bhakti* renaissance of the 16th and 17th centuries which is still a living influence, and under the impact of the West, it produced the efflorescence of modern Indian renaissance which is shaping the new life in India.

I would have only wished that the learned author had treated the chapter on 'Miscellaneous Literature' more fully, for philosophical literature in the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gita* has passages of rare literary beauty and power; law texts like Mitakshara have passages of pregnant expressiveness, and even a scientific treatise like *Charakasamhita* contains passages of great literary charm, all of which the modern mind can thoroughly enjoy. I hope in the next edition the author will bring out these features.

The Bhavan is indebted to the author for contributing this work which, I am sure, will be a useful and instructive addition to its series of publications.

New Delhi:
August 8, 1962.

K. M. MUNSHI

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PREFACE

The earnest books on the history of Sanskrit Literature are the *Ancient Sanskrit Literature* of Max Muller and the *History of Sanskrit Literature* by Weber. Then Macdonell wrote his *History of Sanskrit Literature,* and Winternitz too wrote his *History of Sanskrit Literature* in two volumes covering the Vedic period and the *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* type and the Buddhist Literature. A third volume dealing with Classical Sanskrit came still later. Keith wrote two books, *The Sanskrit Drama* and the *History of Sanskrit Literature* dealing only with the Classical period. S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De jointly wrote another book on Classical Sanskrit and so did M. Krishnamacharya. There are in the field some smaller books, meant mainly for students to prepare for examinations. Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane and Dr. S. K. De have written comprehensive treatises on the *Alamkāra Śāstra.* Books on other aspects like Law and Philosophy are also available.

There is a general complaint that most of the books about Sanskrit Literature are mere catalogues of books, with lists of authors and works and dates, mere inventories of facts and figures. They may be of interest to the specialists and they can be understood only by them. But there is a very wide reading public, and such people coming within this category, have education and culture, but neither the leisure nor the training to devote their time for a detailed study of the subject from the books that are now available. They want something that is simpler, that deals only with general principles, that is in the form of a rapid survey in which are presented such aspects that will interest a cultured reader with sufficient education and intellectual equipment. The present book is not a history. It is just a survey of Sanskrit Literature, to satisfy the needs of the general reader. It is planned to be simple, dealing with only the generalities, free from all technicalities. The main epochs, the main types and patterns, and the main specimens in such types and patterns are taken up to illustrate the general points.

Although the main body of the book is planned with such a purpose in view, I cannot ignore completely the critical students who want also facts and figures, names and dates. At the same time, I cannot allow the needs of such critical students to come as a barrier on the path of the general reader with only a cultural interest. Therefore I am adding at the end of the book some Notes and an Appendix. There are many points in the main body of the book on

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which I have given my own views, and the explanations are given on such points in the Notes and in the Appendix. The critical students may read the main body of the book along with the Notes and the Appendix.

In the books now available, there is no consideration given to the people in the country among whom the literature developed, just as there is no consideration shown in modern times for such general public who too may want to read and understand the subject. There is too much of priests and brahmins and kings and the poets eager to receive rich presents from the kings, in the books that are now available relating Sanskrit Literature. Certainly, there were Brāhmaṇas, not Brahmins, who were scholars, philosophers, artists and writers who planted and nourished the culture of the people, who gave the right orientation to the civilization of the nation, who moulded the national character, who developed the genius of the nation, who guided the people and who represented the people. There is no specimen of a Priest noticed in Sanskrit Literature; there are some members of the Religious Order. But they are not Priests, when they appear as characters in Sanskrit Literature; they are, even with a vengeance, brought into the picture to assist the common people in their full life of married life, or to counsel the heroes to be active in the world and to fight where a fight is necessary. The case is the same whether they are the ascetics living in the forest or whether they are the members of the Monastic Order wearing yellow robes. The kings are kings because of their culture, because of their intellectual attainments, because of their interest in, and patronage of, learning. Not one of them is detached from the general public. They have their position in Sanskrit Literature because the literature relates to the public.

In evaluating Indian culture and Indian literature, there is noticed an over-emphasis on religion and philosophy, and the art side is more or less completely ignored. Another factor that has influenced the evaluation of Indian culture is in the form of foreign notices. But the literary art in India has a different story to tell from what the foreigners have noticed. It is the poets who represent the true life of the people, their ideals and their aspirations, their joys and their sorrows, their achievements and their failures, their homes, their villages and their cities, their avocations, and their diversions and amusements and sports. What is called philosophy is the literature that has developed in cloisters, and they do not reflect the life of the people at large.

If a new history of India and a new account of Indian culture are prepared on the basis of the literary art of India, the judgement

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about the contribution of ancient India to the world would be something different from what the judgement now is. The realistic and practical outlook, the proper sense of values, are completely overlooked in the present-day judgement about ancient India culture. It is for this reason that in the history of the world, India's contribution to the world culture in the matter of sciences, political theories, economic problems, mechanical devices, social organisations and legal systems does not find any appreciable place at all; civilization of man is supposed to have started only with the Greeks. But there is a long stretch of time prior to the beginning of the Greek civilization and there is a wide stretch of land to the east of Greece, when and where there had been flourishing a very advanced civilization which has not yet been surpassed. Various problems that agitate the minds of man in the present age had been agitating the minds of man in ancient India also. Thus the literature left behind by the Indians in ancient times has a great human interest, and also a great practical value. It is to show this human interest and this practical value that some time back I wrote and published two books, one on the *Vedas* and the other on Kālidāsa. My purpose in writing this *Survey of Sanskrit Literature* is also the same. I am uncompromising in my conviction that, considering the spirit and the standard of the civilization, Sanskrit Literature is far closer to modern life than Greek Literature or the literature in any modern European language prior to the last century.

It is not enough if a literature had been admired in ancient times. It is also necessary to show that the literature contains factors that will evoke the admiration of modern man. No one in the present age will take interest in something that has no sort of relation to modern life and modern problems. Thus it is necessary that the ancient literary wealth is presented with a modern garb, in a modern setting. In this way, the problems relating to the common man and to the kings and to the women and to the religion and philosophy, as conceived in modern times, must be taken note of in dealing with ancient Indian literature.

There are various matters that require close thinking. India is the only country in which the culture was founded and developed by poets and not by priests and conquerors. In India of ancient times, all the communities in the body politic were subordinated to the poets. Everyone who counted in the affairs of the nation was a poet; thus there are kings and their ministers and their military officers and civil officers and many people following different avocations who were also poets contributing to the real wealth of the nation, the wealth of culture. There are many women also, starting

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from the most ancient times, and continuing to the latest stage, who have made their contribution to Sanskrit Literature.

I have to moot some pertinent questions in this context. Where is the country and where is the civilization in which a citizen could say, "To us the world and ourselves are enough and we want no God", without any fear of political or religious persecution? Where is the nation and the civilization in the world in which the thinkers took the world and men in the world as realities without owing their origin and continuity to a God? Where else is the legal system in the world in which Law was recognised as an objective reality instead of its being accepted as a gift from God? What other nations have abstained from aggression on another country for such a long period of powerful domination in the world without a deviation from this noble and high principle of man's freedom and international rights? In which country has a new religion been allowed to grow and develop without any opposition from an established church and from the rulers? Which other country has exhibited the phenomenon of two ethnical units, like the Aryans and the Dravidians, amalgamating together to form a single nation ? Which other country has given an asylum to the refugees from another land fleeing to save their life and their religion from invaders, besides permitting the adherents of all religions to follow their own religion and to preach and propagate their own religion? Which other nation has allowed full civic equality to all the people without any distinction of profession and wealth? Which other nation has given full civic equality to women along with men, asserting that no one can have a full civic life without a family life also?

Has not the literature of a people with such a record of unparalleled achievements some real value to the modern people? And does not the literary art of such a people have at least the same value, if not a superior value, as the literatures of other nations in the world, and also as the other patterns of literary heritage like religion and philosophy in India itself ? It is with such thoughts in my mind that I have taken up the work of writing this presentation of the picture of Sanskrit Literature in this book.

In 1958-59, I had to handle the History of Sanskrit Literature in the B.A. Hons. classes of the Andhra University. I divided my lectures into two series. In one I explained some general matters relating to Sanskrit Literature and in the other I gave details relating to the epochs, to the types and patterns and to authors and their works and their dates and such details. When I finished my talks on the general principles, I always wrote out the lecture each day. For the details also I had accumulated much material. In 1959-60 also I had to repeat the lectures and I carried out the neces-

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sary revisions. In the summer of 1960 I wrote out the entire matter of the general talks in the form of a book and I informed the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan about it. The book was readily accepted for publication. At that time I fell ill and matters became serious by the end of 1960 and I had to resign my position in the Andhra University and to retire.

It is a great privilege that I have been permitted by Shri K. M. Munshi to dedicate the book to him and that he has also agreed to write a Foreword to it. Shri K. M. Munshi is a great scholar and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, founded by Shri Munshi in Bombay, which has not yet completed its twenty-fifth year, has developed into one of the biggest Institutions in the country, with various departments of activity and also with Branches in other centres in India. The Samskṛta Viśva Pariṣad is another notable achievement of Shri Munshi. I take this opportunity of recording my sincere gratitude to the great scholar for the favour he has done to me.

The matter could be taken up by the Press only by the close of 1961. At that time I had settled down in Bangalore without enough resources for study by way of a library; I had to depend on my own private library. Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, a former student of mine and now a member of the Sanskrit Department of the Madras University, has always been helpful to me by giving me information on points on which I had to refer to him since my own library was not quite adequate. He has been associated with me in all my recent literary activities, and I record my thanks to him for all his help. The Notes and the Appendix were written out at Bangalore with his help. But I am responsible for all the facts included in the book.

When the book was taken up by the Press for printing, there was quick progress and the printing was finished in a very short time. The work of the Press has been very satisfactory in the matter of the general get-up and also in the matter of proof correction. My own labour in this matter was made considerably light on account of the excellent arrangement at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and at the Press for correcting the proof. I express my appreciation and my thanks for the publishers and for the printers in this respect. I take the liberty of specially thanking Shri S. G. Tolat, who is in charge of the Publications, for the way in which he has handled the book and seen it through the Press.

Naimisham,
Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Academy:
Bangalore, C. KUNHAN RAJA
15th March, 1962.

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Dedicated

to

Shri K. M. MUNSHI

as a Token of Reverential Gratitude

for his Services to the Cause of Sanskrit Literature

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SURVEY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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I. INTRODUCTORY

Sanskrit literature is unique among the literatures of the world, ancient or modern. It preserves the earliest specimens of the literary art of humanity. There might have been well-developed languages in the world prior to the time when Sanskrit began its literary growth; historians generally hold that Sanskrit is only one of the later languages of ancient nations and that there were many languages of which we have records that had been in use among earlier nations prior to the development of Sanskrit as a literary language. The relative antiquity of Sanskrit and the other ancient languages has yet to be finally settled. Whatever the final conclusion on this question might turn out to be, there is no possibility of a doubt about the position that Sanskrit is the earliest among the Aryan languages to develop a literature and that Sanskrit is also the earliest language to develop a truly literary art among any of the ancient nations. In the other languages that are held by historians to be earlier than Sanskrit, there is no literature developed as an art; the literary remains of those languages are in the form of historical records about kings and empires, wars and treaties, and administrative art. The earliest poetry of humanity is preserved in Sanskrit.

From the time when Sanskrit made its appearance as a literary language there has been a continuous development of literary patterns in the language and even now it claims to be one among the modern, living languages of the world. The language has presented various phases during the development through ages to be calculated in millenniums, and yet there is well-marked unity between the earliest phase now known and the most modern phase seen. In comparison with the great change that has taken place in the case of the other languages, the change in Sanskrit from its earliest phase to its modern phase is practically negligible. The two phases are not so wide as, say, between Chaucer and the English of the present century. The language has come into contact with various other languages and has adapted its vocabulary and its modes of expression to the new situation arising out of such contacts, with practically no change in its own individuality. Everything that came into the language simply nourished it and helped its organic growth. A certain phase of the language, what is called Prākṛt or the popular phase of it, has undergone marked changes; only a philologist can trace the stage of the present day back to the earliest times. What is unique in the case of Sanskrit is that Sanskrit itself as a language has preserved its individuality and its life while other later

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languages have developed out of it and had been undergoing great changes. The fact that the changes brought about by the growth in the languages originating in Sanskrit did not produce any decay in the original Sanskrit language itself, shows the vitality with which it had started its literary career.

The earliest specimen of literature in Sanskrit reveals a very advanced stage in the development of literature as a polished art. A view was held in the earlier stages in the study of Sanskrit in modern times that the first specimens of literature in Sanskrit, known as the *Vedas*, are only pastoral poetry of a simple nomadic people attempting to appease the powers of Nature in order to avoid their wrath and to get favours from them. Even now there are scholars who are not able to detect any highly developed literary art in the *Vedas*. But opinions changed gradually and scholars in general began to recognise a highly polished art in Vedic poetry, and some specimens of poetry in the Vedas are accepted as what have not been surpassed later by Sanskrit itself or by any literature of other nations. At present Vedic poetry needs no pleading or advocacy; its poetic standing is what practically all scholars accept as an approved fact.

We cannot deal with a literature bifurcating it into two parts, what is poetic art and what is only the presentation in language form of the intellectual activities of a nation without any element of art. The border line is difficult to fix; there are many specimens of truly poetic art with profound intellectualism and there are many records of intellectual activities with an unmistakable artistic touch. Such is especially the case with Sanskrit. Such a combined satisfaction of the intellectual needs and of emotional appeals is very prominent in Sanskrit literature, perhaps more than in any literature of the world ancient or modern.

The variety in literary forms and in content is another noteworthy feature in Sanskrit literature. In the matter of form, we have to recognise both the structure and the metrical patterns. The number of metrical patterns found in the *Vedas* is something astounding. There is also an imposing variety in the matter of poetic structure. In the actual specimens now available, which can be nothing but a small part of what was being produced in those days, there are found practically all patterns of literary form that are found in other literatures of the world, ancient and modern, and many more that are not found elsewhere. Long epic poems in two patterns, many varieties of dramas, short poems like lyrics and odes and ballads, romances in prose, tales and didactic poems, poems in which love and religious fervour are harmoniously mixed up, lite-

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rary patterns in which prose and verse are interwoven, themes that are serious and comic, handling of subjects in such a way that even abstruse philosophy and theoretical science also take up a literary form—these are some of the many literary forms that have to be counted as art. Then there are works dealing with all sorts of subjects imaginable—religion and philosophy and various sciences, law, social organisation and political institutions, art of love, preparation of wines and cosmetics, medicine and astronomy (including astrology), agriculture and water-divining and so on. The total number of works in some of the patterns runs to thousands, so far as known works are concerned, and if we take into consideration the various works that are to be presumed through citations and allusions and implications in them, the number will run beyond five digits.

The long period of unbroken civilization unknown in any other country, the long period of unbroken development of literature in a language with practically no change in the language, and similar features found in the Sanskrit literature are matters that deserve investigation to find out the reason for this unique phenomenon. The presentations of the literary specimens in Sanskrit that are now available are more or less descriptive catalogues giving authors and works and general contents and dates. The general spirit of the literature, the relation between the literature and the life of the people, the artistic beauty and cultural value of the literary specimens and such factors are skipped over or even perverted. Thus the study of Sanskrit has become an intellectual pursuit without any practical value.

It has been said that the literature had developed in royal courts and was written by literary people to propitiate the kings and receive rich presents and similar favours. It has been asserted that Sanskrit has been the language of the few intellectual people and has no relation with the people at large. It has been maintained that in Sanskrit literature, even in what goes by the name of literary art, there is too much of intellectualism to deserve the appellation of the art of the people and for the people. Remarks have also been made about the monotony in the form and content of the literary patterns. The approach to Sanskrit in recent times has been entirely different from the approach to the problems relating to, and the presentation of, Greek literature and the literatures of the modern languages in the West. In the case of Greek and the modern Western languages, there is an attempt to polish up the bright side and to cover under a coat of varnish any phase that may be unpleasant. But in the matter of Sanskrit, bright sides are not taken note of and there is an inventory of all articles that have to be discarded on account

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of their worthlessness. The true facts must be properly presented in the case of Sanskrit.

It is true that the royal courts were the great centres for literary and cultural activities. The fact is that the kings were educated and cultured and were the true representatives of the national culture. They did not keep themselves aloof from the popular life in the country. They directed all popular movements for the advancement of the national welfare including cultural advancement. Kings were also among the people and represented the people, and the ordinary people were elevated to the high levels, freely finding access to the presence of the king and honoured by the kings. The literature does not present the kings as separated from the people; on the other hand we find people from all stations in life and following various avocations introduced on the stage along with kings and the intellectuals.

It cannot be that such a vast literature in a variety of patterns that satisfy a variety of tastes and aptitudes was produced for the pleasure of a few royal personages and intellectuals. The literature must have developed for the enjoyment of the people at large, and this shows also that the people understood the language in which the literature grew. It may be that the people did not speak the language with that standard of purity in the matter of grammar, which is found in the literary aspect of the language; there is evidence to show that even the intellectuals, the learned people, also did not speak at home and in their ordinary social life the same language which they used in literature, but a language which is simpler and differing considerably from the literary language. What is important is that the people knew the Sanskrit that is found in the literature, that this Sanskrit was the language of the people and that there was no separate language of the people differing from the language of the intellectuals. The literature developed among the people and for the enjoyment of the people. The culture of the people and the general tendencies in the life of the people are reflected in that literature.

It is true that there is a high standard of intellectualism in the literary art of Sanskrit language. That does not mean that the literature developed among the few who were intellectuals and that the people had little or no connection with that literature. What it means is that the standard of intellectual attainment among the people in general was high, that education maintained a high standard and spread among the people and went down to very low strata of the social organisation. If there is a high standard of intellectualism in literature there is the other side of the question. In what

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is called science, including philosophy, and in such literatures that are not associated with any element of art like ritualism, there is a high standard of artistic finish both in language and in the mode of presentation. From the earliest times it has been found that metre, the usual medium for poetic art, has been adopted for scientific purposes, for grammatical works and for works relating to indices, and in the field of Vedic exegesis, and this practice continued throughout the history of Sanskrit language and continues even now. There was never a mutual divorce between intellectualism and emotionalism, between science and art, in Indian life. Both went together and each contributed to the other.

Sanskrit literature has not been presented with fairness in recent times. Sanskrit is studied only for philological purposes and also as an aspect of the record of what may be called primitive civilization and never as a cultural training for the mind. A study of Greek literature and the literature in the modern languages of the West is recognised as having a high cultural value; but that is not the case with Sanskrit literature; a study of Sanskrit is not recognised as sufficient for a cultural training for the mind. The fault is with the way in which Sanskrit literature has been presented to the world in modern times.

When Sanskrit was the national language of the country, India was leading the world, flashing the illumination of wisdom on all the countries of the ancient world where there was some sort of civilization, and this cultural influence exerted by India on the surrounding countries continued till very recent times, till Sanskrit ceased to be the national language of the country, till the contents of Sanskrit literature ceased to have any influence in the mental training of the people and in the national life of the country.

The influence of the *Vedas* in Asia Minor in the second millennium before Christ is fairly well known. India continued to exert that influence on the countries to the West till a few centuries after the Christian era; even when Arabic became the language of the Western countries in Asia on account of the spread of Islam from Arabia in those regions, the literature that developed in the Arabic language shows signs of Sanskritic influence, especially in the fields of astronomy and medicine, and even the literature of modern Persian shows reflections of the influence of India on the thought of Western Asia.

Sanskritic influence spread later to the north, to Tibet and to China, and also to the east in Cambodia and to the south-east in Indonesia. It is not a spread of Buddhistic influence; it is a spread of Indian and Sanskritic influence to those regions. Hindu epics,

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Hindu religious works, Sanskrit poetry and many types of literature are found reflected in the literary and archaeological remains of those regions along with the Buddhistic literature and Buddhistic thought. In modern times, Sanskrit is having its influence on the West in the matter of religion and philosophy, in the matter of literature and also in the matter of general problems of life. But the influence of Sanskrit on the modern world is practically a zero in comparison with the influence which Sanskrit exerted on humanity in earlier days in the history of the world. Yet the influence is there with immense possibilities if Sanskrit is presented to the world in the way in which it should be as a cultural influence.

Greek civilization is presented to the world in modern times as the starting point of modern civilization, and modern civilization is recognised as the first civilization which humanity has developed in the world. It is assumed that from the time of the Greek civilization there has been a continuous and unbroken growth of civilization in the West, with perhaps some occasional retardation. Cultures beyond the Greek culture are relegated to the background as "primitive", both in point of time and in point of geographical area on the surface of the earth. Chinese and Egyptian and Babylonian civilizations are only primitive civilizations with perhaps a scientific content, and Indian civilization is not given any place in tracing the development of human civilization from the earliest times.

Considering the long period of growth in the history of Indian civilization and Sanskrit literature and considering also the influence which they have exerted on other nations, there is a case for presenting Sanskrit literature in a way different from what has been done till now and what is being done even now. Its relation to world civilization and its value to modern life must be recognised and made known to humanity. What has survived for such a long period and what has exerted such an influence on humanity during such a long period cannot be devoid of value in modern life. There was mutual interaction among the Semitic languages of Hebrew and Syriac and later of Arabic on one side and Greek on the other side. Indian thought and Sanskrit literature have contributed much to the development of the literature in the Semitic languages. As such the influence of Indian thought and of Sanskrit literature on Greek is a possibility that cannot be ignored. In the Middle Ages from the time of the Crusades, the literature of the Middle East has influenced the development of science among the modern Western nations. In this way,

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the relation of Sanskrit and Indian thought to modern science is something that must be taken note of.

The most important point is the relation of Indian thought and Sanskrit to modern sciences and modern thought and modern ways of life. There is a view that modern science and modern thought and modern ways are incompatible with ancient Indian thought and ancient Indian ways of life recorded in Sanskrit literature. On a close and impartial examination, it will be found and it can be established that there is nothing in Indian thought or Indian mode of life recorded in Sanskrit literature that is incompatible with modern thought and modern ways of life; on the other hand, among the ancient civilizations, Indian civilization is the closest to modern tendencies. The differences are only on minor points, and in the matter of fundamentals there is nothing but agreement between them. As a matter of fact, ancient Indian thought and modes of life recorded in Sanskrit can very well be a supplement to modern thought and modern ways of life; they can be mutually complementary.

In the following pages I propose only to make a rapid survey of the field of Sanskrit literature noticing the various patterns, interpreting their spirit, drawing attention to their artistic values and bringing out their relation to modern life. This is not a complete record of the literature in Sanskrit; it is not a catalogue of authors and works and dates. I take note of only chief specimens in each pattern, and dates are introduced only to survey the growth of the literature.

Certainly, there are defects in the literature; and no literature reaches to perfection in its artistic finish. We admire the beauty and ignore the defects which, in most cases, are sunk into and assimilated with the merits. It is the merits that really come into prominence, and the defects come into the fore-front only in the case of those who are blind to the beauties in the literary specimens.

My purpose is to enable the readers to take an interest in the literature in Sanskrit and to help them to understand and appreciate the value and utility found in that literature. I want to make out a case that it is worthwhile to study the literature, that the labour involved in it will pay; as a matter of fact a stage will come, as in the case of many, when labour spent on such a study will turn out to be the greatest enjoyment.

There are people who extol Sanskrit as the language of gods; if that had been the case I would be the last person to look at it, and I would simply have left it for the gods in heaven and looked for something that is for men on earth. It is because of my convic-

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tion, after devoting a whole lifetime on it, that the language is the language of men on earth for helping men to live a noble life on earth, that I have spent my time on it. There is no divine sanctity attached to Sanskrit. Its literature has helped man to live on earth without drawing his attention to some unattainable goals elsewhere, and it will be of the same help to modern humanity and to posterity. If we do not present its real values and conceal it from humanity on the plea of its having some divine origin and sanctity, that will be playing the role of a miser who does not show his wealth to others on the plea that it is guarded by some divine agency and that any one looking at it or touching it will incur divine displeasure. Sanskrit must be brought into contact with the other ancient literatures and also with modern literatures. This is my purpose in writing the book.

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II. THE VEDAS

(i) GENERAL

The *Vedas* form a group of literature of a miscellaneous nature, being the earliest literary specimen that has come down to us from ancient times in India and that represents the earliest form of Sanskrit literature. The *Vedas* are also the earliest literary record of the whole Aryan race that has now spread practically over the whole of Europe and over considerable portions of Western Asia like Armenia, Iran and Afghanistan, and India. The exact date of this literature which is also the beginning of Indian civilization, has not yet been finally settled. If the view of some scholars who assign a very early date for the beginning of the *Vedas* is accepted, then the *Vedas* are also the earliest literary record of the human race; if some other views are accepted, then the records of Egypt, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and China are earlier than the *Vedas,* and the *Vedas* form one of the later products of the human race in the early periods of the history of man, with only the *Avesta,* the basic texts of the religion of Zoroaster, and the Greek literature coming after the *Vedas.*

The Vedas are divided into four groups, namely, the *Ṛgveda,* the *Yajurveda,* the *Sāmaveda* and the *Atharvaveda.* Each one of these four groups has an original text portion and a commentary portion, called respectively the *Mantra* and the *Brāhmaṇa* portions. The latter again is of two kinds, one interpreting the rituals of the original texts and the other interpreting the philosophy of the original texts. It is the portion interpreting the rituals of the original texts that is now called the *Brāhmaṇas,* and the portion that interprets the philosophy of the original texts is known as the *Upaniṣads.* Besides these two strata of the *Vedas,* there are later works that are of an exegetical nature, texts that are auxiliary to the interpretation of the texts and are hence called *Vedāṅgas* (limbs of the *Vedas*). They are also of a miscellaneous nature and extend over a very wide period, coming much later than what is known as the Vedic period in the history of Sanskrit literature. The whole of this vast group of literature is known as the Vedic literature.

(ii) MANTRA (ORIGINAL TEXT)

(a) Ṛgveda

The *Ṛgveda* is a collection of 1017 poems, mostly in the form of prayers addressed to various gods. There are also 11 poems which

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are included in this collection, but which are not recognised even traditionally as an integral part of the *Ṛgveda* text, but only as an interpolation, and Sāyaṇa, a commentator of the *Vedas* of comparatively recent times, does not comment on these 11 poems. These 1017 poems altogether contain slightly below 15000 verses, and are grouped into ten Books called *Maṇḍalas* (Cycles). Each poem is known as a *Sūkta* (Well-said), and each verse is called an *Ṛk* (Prayer).

There are many poets as authors of these poems. There are six great families of such poets, and the six Books from the second to the seventh contain poems by the poets whose name the families bear and by the other members of the families. Most of the poems belong to the chief member of the family from whom the family derives the name, and only a few belong to the other members. But in the fifth Book, the number of poems from the chief poet is not so many, although the family bears his name, not more than the number of poems by the other members, and in the seventh Book, all the poems are by the chief poet whose name the family bears, with no poem from any other member of the family. In the eighth Book, the first half is by a chief poet whose name the family bears and also by members of the family, and the latter half is from another chief poet and the members of his family. For this reason, these seven Books from the second to the eighth are known now as Family Books. In the ninth Book, all the poems, by a variety of poets, are addressed to one single Divinity, the Soma Plant that plays a very important role in the rituals of those days. In the first Book, the poems are of the same nature as the poems in the second to the eighth Book, namely prayers to various gods, and are by poets belonging mostly to families that are not included in the seven Family Books, though a few of them belong to one or the other of those families. In the tenth Book, there is a predominance to poems of another type, most of them having a secular colour; there are dialogues, presentations of certain philosophical doctrines like the origin and creation of the world, descriptions of situations like wedding and funeral rites, the wailings of a gambler who was defeated in the gambling den and was ruined and so on.

The poems are by a variety of poets. They can be grouped into families, and yet there remain some who do not come into this scheme. Then there are poems that cannot be assigned to any particular poet; their assignment to a poet is purely artificial, and that is especially the case with the dialogue poems where the person into whose mouth the verse is put is the poet and the person addressed to is the theme, according to traditional assignment. We do not

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know who the author of the whole poem was. In such dialogues, it is not indicated who the speaker is and to whom it is addressed; that has to be determined from the meaning; the traditional indices also help us in this matter. It is not unlikely that such dialogues were meant for presentation on the stage, though there is no evidence of a dramatic performance on the stage at that time, found in the texts either directly stated or indirectly implied. In the case of some poems, both the author and the theme are identical; that is the case with the poem addressed to the departed fore-fathers at the time of funeral ceremony, Yama being given in the Indices as both theme and the poet, and a poem on creation assigned to the Creator as Hiraṇya Garbha (Golden Womb) and another on creation assigned to Viśvakarman (All-maker). The poem on the Puruṣa (the Supreme Person) and another on the state of the world prior to diversification and manifestation are assigned to fictitious authors, namely, Nārāyaṇa and Parameṣṭhin; the former has become the synonym of the great God Viṣṇu in the latter-day mythology of India and the latter word means "Sitting in the Highest". There is a poem about the wedding of Sūryā, the daughter of the god Savitar (the Sun), and this poem is also assigned to that bride as author. In the case of a poem about the evils of gambling, the authorship is assigned to a poet by name Kavaṣa Ailūṣa and alternatively also to the dice themselves with which they gamble.

The above facts show that there are a large number of poems for which we have no definite information about the author. They must have been very ancient poems of which only a small proportion had been preserved at the time when the major part of the preserved portion of the Vedic literature had been composed and later compiled into a text. The authorship had been forgotten at that later time, and some artificial method was devised to assign some authorship for the poems. We do not know how long prior to the composition of the major part of the Vedic literature, they could have been composed. But most of such poems of unsettled authorship appear in the first and the tenth Books of the present collection, and in modern times they are taken to belong to the latest strata in the Vedic period.

The poems are composed in a variety of metres. The metres were analysed and classified by ancient interpreters on a very artificial basis. The metres, according to the traditional classification, fall under two main groups namely, the normal and the longer metres. Each of them is grouped under seven heads. They speak of another seven above these two, that are longer still, as having vanished from among men. The shortest metre has twenty-four

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syllables and the further metres rise above this by four syllables; the seventh and last of the normal group has thus forty-eight syllables. Then begin the longer metres with fifty-two syllables and end with 76 syllables. They may be shown as:

A. Normal		Syllables	B. Longer		Syllables
1	Gāyatrī	24	1	Atijagatī	52
2	Uṣṇih	28	2	Śakvarī	56
3	Anuṣṭubh	32	3	Atiśakvarī	60
4	Bṛhatī	36	4	Aṣṭi	64
5	Paṅkti	40	5	Atyaṣṭi	68
6	Triṣṭubh	44	6	Dhṛti	72
7	Jagatī	48	7	Atidhṛti	76

Then there are seven more starting with 80 syllables and ending with 104 syllables. No examples for such metres are now preserved.

Normally a verse has four lines (*pādas*); it is on this basis that the metres are classified as rising by syllables on the whole from group to group, there being one more syllable in each line. But this latter fact is not strictly adhered to in the actual examples. Thus, *Gāyatrī* has three lines of eight syllables and in the next, namely, *Uṣṇih*, one of these three lines has twelve syllables. *Anuṣṭubh* has four lines of eight syllables and in the *Bṛhatī*, which follows, one of the four lines has twelve syllables. *Paṅkti* has four lines of ten syllables, *Triṣṭubh* has four lines of eleven syllables and *Jagatī* has four lines of twelve syllables. Thus it will be found that except the first two, all the five following groups have four lines of varying length.

There are various other ways in which the total number of syllables is made up. The above scheme is only given as a normal. For example, *Paṅkti* of forty syllables can be five lines of eight syllables also. Under each of these seven groups there are various subgroups according to the way in which the total number is made up. They are given separate names within the groups by ancient interpreters of the *Vedas*. The classification does not take note of the quality of the lines, but only the total number of syllables in the whole verse. This is not a scientific way of classifying metres.

In the longer metres, there are more than four lines; they are made up of lines of eight and twelve syllables. Such lines are put together as intermixed in the same verse. The real variety in metres is made up by the number of lines and the number of syllables in such lines and the order in which the two kinds of lines are intermixed in the verse. In the normal metres also, although the typi-

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cal verses have more or less uniform lines composing the verses, there are many cases where lines of different lengths are arranged in some order within the verses, and where this gives the variety in the metres.

Generally it may be stated that there are three kinds of lines, lines of eight syllables and lines of eleven syllables and lines of twelve syllables. Sometimes half of such an eight-syllabic line is also added; such instances are stated as lines of twelve syllables, though they are one and a half lines of eight syllables, distinct from lines of twelve syllables. The combinations are between lines of eight syllables and lines of twelve syllables and the lines of eleven syllables form a separate class. At this stage, it is not possible to say definitely whether the twelve-syllabic lines are all, in origin, combinations of eight-syllable lines with another half added to it. Lines of ten syllables are few and so are lines of other length, though they too appear. All such lines of lengths other than the normal of eight, eleven and twelve, may be survivals from an earlier date, when metres were far more complicated and when poetry was far more original and artistic with greater variations and greater freedom for handling. Most of them must have died out at a later stage when metres became standardised. In the available text, such standard metres, verses of four lines with eight, eleven and twelve syllables, predominate. The fact may be that what we have now preserved is only specimens of a later stage in the development of poetry in the Vedic stage and that the real Vedic poetry of an earlier date, with greater artistic varieties, has been lost to us.

We do not know the exact features that distinguished the poetic lines from prose passages besides the number of syllables in a line. The sequence of short and long syllables is one such distinguishing feature in all sorts of poetry in the world. But there is nothing to indicate this feature in the Vedic poetry as a regular factor. The feature is seen, but not in a strictly regular and systematic way. We notice some sort of Iambic cadence in the latter part of the lines in the various metres, with a pause in the middle of the lines. But the former part of the lines has no such regularity in the sequence of short and long syllables. There are languages in which, for the sake of metrical needs, short syllables in many cases have to be recited as long. We do not know whether syllables that were grammatically short were recited in the metrical lines as long. Some such cases are preserved where, even in the text that we have, some short syllables are given as prosodially long. But such cases do not help us in forming any rules regarding the sequence of short and long syllables.

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Sanskrit language has developed a certain phonetic feature in a way not seen in the development of any other language, though the feature is met with in the other languages also in a very elementary way. This is the feature of combining two separate words in such a way that the final of the first and the initial of the second are glued into each other so as to afford a euphony between the two words; this is known generally as euphonic combination. This feature is also worked out in the matter of combining the different elements of a word together, such as the preposition, the root, the suffix etc., so that the whole word forms a euphonic unit. Generally two vowels cannot be pronounced in immediate sequence without an intermediate consonant. When a word ends in a vowel and when the next word starts with a vowel, either the two vowels together form a single long vowel or they form a diphthong or one vowel is changed into a semi-vowel, or some such device is adopted so that there are no two vowels in immediate succession. Similarly, a hard consonant is changed into a soft one in the vicinity of a soft sound, a dental becomes a palatal or a cerebral in the vicinity of a dental or a cerebral, and a consonant is nasalised in the vicinity of a nasal.

There are various other devices worked out to bring about euphony in the matter of recitation of passages. It is on account of the dominance of poetry in the literature in relation to prose that this scheme of euphonic combination has been so systematically worked out in the language. This shows that poetry has been in the genius of the nation who started and developed the civilization of India even from the earliest times, as indicated by the poetry of the *Vedas*. This scheme of euphonic combination is seen fully worked out in the poetry of the *Vedas*. As a consequence, the text of the poetry of the *Vedas* has come down in two recensions, one in which the words are so euphonically combined and the other in which the words are kept separate. The former is called the *Saṁhitā* (what is joined together), the other being known as *Pada* (words).

Each verse is a separate syntactical unit, there being a complete stop in meaning at the end of a verse. Even within the verse, each line is a semantic unit, as well as a metrical unit. As far as possible, the words within a line have to be taken together syntactically and there is no euphonic combination between the end of a line and the beginning of another line; a line ends with a complete word and not with a part of a word. At present, it is found that, as handed down in the tradition of recitation, each verse is divided only into two units and not into lines, though the ends of the lines

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are also kept distinctly clear in the tradition of recitation, without a complete stop; at the end of each half within the verse, there is a complete stop.

Various devices have been worked out in the matter of handling the metres, over and above the few noted above like combining lines of different lengths and combining different numbers of lines to form a verse. Two verses in two separate metres are sometimes formed into a single unit for recitation, though in meaning each is a distinct unit; such combinations are called *Pragāthas* (superior songs). In some of the poems, each verse ends with a refrain passage. Sometimes, poem after poem are found to have a refrain, which may be a line or even a half verse. Sometimes at the end of a line within a verse, the same combinations of a few syllables are repeated; this feature is distinctly seen in a special metre in which there are five lines of eight syllables.

There are various other devices found introduced into the poetry of the *Vedas* and they show a long development of the art of poetry. In the available text of the *Vedas,* there is frequent allusion to the poets and to the poetry of olden days. Perhaps it may be that in the available text we have mostly the imitations of the original poetry of the great artists of an earlier age, very little of such original art of an earlier day having been preserved. There is also very frequent reference to the composition and recitation of new poetry. They compare the composition of poetry to the construction of a chariot by an artisan and to cutting the sacred grass into equal lengths. In the available *Ṛgveda,* what we find is perhaps the specimens of a declining age of poetry and not the specimens of a starting and growing period in the art of poetry. Even the available poems are of a very high order from the point of view of artistic workmanship, showing a real talent for poetry, a real genius for poetry, and from the available specimens, we can only have some faint notion of the nature of the really original poetry of the early stages of literary developments in India, though we do not have such specimens themselves in any large numbers.

The name *Ṛgveda* means the *Veda* of Adorations, and this indicates the general nature of the contents of the *Veda;* the *Veda* contains mostly adorations of gods. Such adorations are either directly addressed to the gods or form the poetic flow of the feelings in the hearts of the poets when they have the form of the gods shining in their hearts. In the traditional interpretations, the former variety is termed *Pratyakṣa-kṛta* (what are made directly) and the latter are termed *Parokṣa-kṛta* (what are indirectly made). The former come

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near to what we now have as Odes and the latter can be approximated with Lyrics.

There are various patterns of poetry found in the *Ṛgveda*. Some may be styled ballad songs. From the form of the metre, some may be designated as sonnets. There are various poems that are of a dramatic nature, perhaps meant originally to be presented on the stage. We see only the passages spoken by two or three persons to one another, without any direction as to who spoke and to whom it was spoken; this feature has to be known from meaning and also from the indices prepared in the early days and passed on to us through tradition. The very fact that such directions are missing is an evidence that such blanks were filled up in the presentation on the stage; it is only if the poetry is merely to be recited that there is need for the express statement of the speaker and the person addressed to. Most of the dialogue poems are of a secular nature. Other poems of a secular nature consist of descriptions of situations like the wailings of a gambler who lost everything at the gambling den and became wiser through ruin and despair. There is the description of a wedding, how the bride was proceeding to the house of the bridegroom, how people assembled to have a view of the couple and how they were greeted with blessings when they reached the new home for the bride. Many poems are of a philosophical nature.

The poems were generally recited by the poet sitting against the altar at the time of the national festivities associated with grand religious ceremonies that were periodically held in big cities; at such festivities, people from all parts of the country assembled in large numbers, and there were tournaments and sports also held on such occasions. Men and women, young and old, all assembled and found opportunities for merriment, and girls even took advantage of such occasions to become friends with young men and even to secure their life's companions.

The learned people assembled in the halls where the religious ceremonies were conducted and poets who had composed new poems were allowed to sit against the altar and recite them to the audience. If the learned audience approved a poem as of the high class, such poets were given the title of *Ṛṣi* (poet with vision). Such an assembly is very often mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*; the term is *Vidatha*, from the root *Vid* "to know", in which the word *Veda* also has its origin. The poetry must be the expression of the truth as it is, describing the true nature of the gods in their reality. The poets must have had a correct vision of the real nature of the gods and must have given expression to that nature in true poetic language without any

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limitation of the poet's individuality and views and habits. Such a language expression of the real truth is what they considered true poetry, and it is only such a poet who is known as the *Ṛṣi*. There are innumerable references to events when the poets were given such a recognition. Only such poetry was included in the *Vedas*.

That was the highest honour coveted by any one in those days. Such a poet became one among the greatest personages of the time, and his fame also continued through generations; even persons born in the family were the objects of honour and veneration. Kings and wealthy persons paid homage to such poets or *Ṛṣis*. It became such an object to be coveted by the people that the term "to address a learned assembly" became synonymous with "reward with high honours", and there are many places where there is the prayer or the blessing that one may be enabled "to address a learned assembly"; this means only to become the recipient of high honours.

All the poems that are of the nature of philosophical speculations, dialogues and descriptions of secular situations put together form only a very small part of the text of the *Ṛgveda* that has come down to us now. The real Ṛgvedic text as it stands today is of the nature of adorations of the gods. Such poems of adoration addressed to gods were utilised during the grand religious ceremonies of the nation and also in smaller ceremonies and in domestic ceremonies. It is those few families that continued the performances of such ceremonies, when through some sort of cataclysm, there was a decadence of the Vedic culture, which also preserved the text of the ancient *Vedas*, and that is the reason for the preponderance of the adorations addressed to the gods in the Vedic poetry that has come down to us; that does not mean that even at that ancient time, the poetry was mainly of the nature of such adorations addressed to the gods. The poetic literature of those days must have had a far wider extent in the matter of theme and purpose. The few poems that do not conform to the main pattern form the testimony for such a thesis. At present we have to treat of the *Ṛgveda* as essentially a collection of poems of the nature of adorations addressed to the various gods. Who are these gods, what are they?

It is not correct to say that the people in the times of the *Ṛgveda* were primitive and pastoral, wandering about from place to place in search of pasture for their cattle and water for their agriculture, afraid of the powers of Nature, trying to propitiate them for the sake of their blessings and for avoiding their wrath, singing their simple poems for this purpose. They had a settled home, where they had been living for a very long time, developing their culture, forming their modes of life. They lived an active life, ex-

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tensive and varied in content, with their social organisations and social customs, with their amusements and arts and pastimes and sports, with their avocations, with their problems of politics and economics, with their troubles and their successes. We do not know the exact extent of their country. It must have covered the whole of the western part of North India, extending to a good part along the Gangetic valley to the east, and also extending to the west and north far into the countries that are now outside of India, like Afghanistan, Turkistan, Asia Minor and Iran; at least such must have been the extent of the zone of influence covered by the Vedic culture.

The country was divided into a large number of political units, as is clear from the names of a large number of kingdoms and kings found in the Vedic texts. They could not have been like the very extensive countries of modern times; there were no empires in those days. The people were held together by the bond of a common culture and common ways of life and not by any political power. There must have been rivalries and even quarrels between kingdoms and kingdoms. But the bond of culture nurtured by the poets and by the wise men of the days was stronger than the rivalries and petty quarrels, so that they did not get disintegrated nor did they become an easy prey for foreign invasions.

The religion of those days cannot be designated as Nature Worship or as Anthropomorphism. There was neither a greed of any gain by worshipping the gods nor was there any fear of them. It is not also true to trace a growth from simple Nature Worship to Polytheism and Monotheism, with the intermediate stage of Henotheism, postulated by Max Muller, in which each god in turn becomes the great One God. What we find in the religion of the *Ṛgveda* is an intimate communion between the wise men with vision and some powers in Nature. The world was in the form of a gradation from the grossest world around of us to the finer and finer aspects of this world seen by and known to only the few wise people with vision, the Ṛṣis, the great poets. The whole world moved according to a Law; this movement was due to the function of the Life Force pervading the whole Universe, and this Force can function only through the matter in the world in various gradations. Man is one such aspect of the Universal Force functioning in the world, and there are other aspects of the same Force functioning in other gradations of the world, and they are the gods. The common man cannot see the gods, nor can he see their abodes, namely, the finer gradations of the world. It is the privilege of the few wise men with vision, the *Ṛṣis,* the great poets.

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Man and the gods are companions in the working of the World Order. They function together, they help mutually. In so far as the gods too are the companions of man, and in so far as the common man can understand only what come within his own experience, the great poets who had a direct vision of such gods could sing of them in language only in certain forms known to the common man, and so there is the description of such gods in the form of man. They are all endowed with human forms and human emotions; they move about like men, riding on chariots drawn by horses, and sometimes by other animals. They have their handsome bodies and attractive features, they don fine robes, they wear weapons, they adorn themselves with ornaments. Some of them sing; the Dawn is compared to a dancer. The Maruts, a group of gods, are spoken of as being charming like bridegrooms.

In the case of some of them, their identity with some aspect of Nature is quite clear; this is especially the case with the Fire God, Agni. When we read the poems about this god, we can see the flaming fire in the altar during the religious ceremonies, kindled with fuel and also with butter. The flames and the noise are compared to the tongue and to the noise of a bull. In contrast to this god, there is the great warrior, Indra, a hero riding in a chariot drawn by two horses, smiting the enemies with his thunderbolt, the Vajra. The identity of the god in Nature is impossible to determine, while his close relation to some aspects of Nature is not at all difficult to be traced in the descriptions. The water clouds with lightning and thunder and smiting the clouds and the flow of water are features closely associated with this god; but the god himself is nowhere in this picture in Nature. Yet the picture of a great hero is always before us when we read the poems about Indra. The Fire and this god, Indra, cover about two thirds of the text of the *Ṛgveda*.

There are various other gods described in the *Ṛgveda* in the songs of adorations addressed to them. There are the Maruts, seven brothers of the same age and of the same appearance, sons of God Rudra, their mother being called Pṛśni (the spotted cow). They are also spoken of as having a cow as mother. They are handsome, wear weapons of gold and decorate themselves with various ornaments, look like bridegrooms, are singers. Their relation to the storm, felling trees in the forest, accompanied with showers of rain, is quite clear. The poetic genius of the wise people of those days is most clearly manifested when they sing of these terrible and howling storm-gods as the most handsome and as singers. The Dawn is a lovely maiden, beautiful as if dressed up by the mother, looking like a dancer. The Aśvins are a pair of gods always going

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together in a chariot of three wheels. They leave behind them a ruddy streak of light when they go in their chariots; they are also the physicians. They heal various ailments. The Ṛbhus are three gods, brothers, sons of Sudhanvān, artisans working great wonders. Rudra is a god with arrows in his hands, also a great physician.

There are some Sun-gods. Savitar is the rising sun and Sūrya is the sun at noon. Viṣṇu is also a sun-god with his three-fold strides. Mitra is the sun prior to rising; there is only one poem about him, and as such his exact nature cannot be determined. Varuṇa is a great god living in a palace with a thousand pillars, who can see everything in the world and who watches everything, who sees the movements of birds in the heavens and all actions of men. His identity in Nature cannot be determined; there is the Greek Ouronos, which can be compared with this word, and perhaps he was originally the sky-god.

Some of the gods are definitely spoken of as having been originally mortals, who later became gods. Such are the group of gods named the Maruts and the Ṛbhus. They became gods and partakers of the divine drink of *Soma* at the religious rituals. Yama is a man who for the first time saw the Path, went to that Beyond followed by others, and attained to the region where was Varuṇa, the great God, and also became the ruler of those regions. He is spoken of as *Rājā*, the king, along with Varuṇa. Various ancient Ṛṣis, the wise poets, also had gone to that region beyond and had their lives along with the gods, and they too came down to the earth at the religious rituals and partook of the divine drink of *Soma;* they never became real gods.

There are various kinds of gods to whom poems are addressed. Some animals like the horse, features of Nature like Rivers, mental traits like Devotion (*Śraddhā*), agencies like Creator (*Dhātar*) and various implements like mortar and pestle that are used at the religious ceremonials, are deified, and poems are addressed to them.

The authors of the *Ṛgveda* were great poets of deep vision, who could see far below the surface which alone the ordinary men see, who could vision some lustres in such depths beyond the sight of men and who could have direct communion with such powers. They sang of those powers and those illuminations in languages that were known to the ordinary men and in pictures that could be seen and understood by ordinary men. They were the founders of the civilization of India, they developed and propagated the culture, they guided the nation. Since they saw and realised the truth which ordinary men cannot see and understand, they understood some eternal factors in the world, and the nation guided by such leaders

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developed a certain spirit which enabled the nation to survive various vicissitudes that ruined other nations. The great poets never led the nation along paths supposed to lead to certain goals beyond, promised and tempting, but at the same time unattainable in truth, abandoning the facts of the world; they also guided them clear of aimless meterialism, making life noble and purposive. That is the great value of the *Ṛgvedic* poetry. Here we find a balanced life, a life with a high purpose and at the same time a life that did not look for unreal and unattainable goals.

As poetry, the *Ṛgveda* reveals certain features that are not seen in the recorded remnants of other ancient civilizations. Love of nature is one such feature that is very prominent in the poetry of the *Ṛgveda*. There is no ancient nation that has developed a poetic literature comparable to the poetry of the *Ṛgveda*. No nation in the ancient world that has developed a rich poetry, like the Greeks, has developed any Nature poetry. The *Ṛgveda* is essentially Nature poetry, dealing with certain powers in Nature and also embellished with allusions to the familiar objects of Nature like rivers and animals and birds. Among the objects of Nature, cows and rivers form the most prominent objects that attracted the attention of the poets of those days. We see little of mountains and oceans. We do not see gardens and flowers and moonlight. The stars, though present, are not very prominent. Next to cows and rivers, there is the Natural phenomenon of the brilliant Dawn, described like a handsome maiden; the rising sun is another phenomenon that has roused the poetic fervour in the people. There are also the storm with strong winds and dark clouds and thunder and lightning and showers.

The religion and philosophy developed by the Vedic people was conducive to the development of Nature poetry also. As a matter of fact, the founders of religion, the philosophers and the poets were the same. There was no God; for this reason there is no subordination of man to any higher Power. Nor are the fauna and the flora creations of a God for the sake of man; they are factors in a unitary world in which man and the fauna and the flora form equal parts and equal partners. In this way, there is a companionship between man and the fauna and the flora. Gods also are not superior beings, different from man; they may be superior, but only as superior companions. Man may be superior, in the same way, to the fauna and the flora, as superior companions. God, Man and the animals and the trees and the flowers and all the phenomena of Nature formed a unit. This is the origin of the Nature poetry in the *Ṛgveda*.

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Man's pride, man's love of freedom, man's attachment to his country, man's realisation of the values in life and such features are very prominent in the poetry of the *Ṛgveda.* Man never surrendered to a superior Power nor to a foreign invader; the people defended their country and also respected the freedom of other countries. There was never an invasion into the country nor from the country. They exerted themselves to lead a free life and let others also lead a free life. They were content with their lot in the world and never thought of life in the world as a suffering with a Path for escape from this world into another world beyond. There are various prayers found in the poetry of the *Ṛgveda;* there is seldom, or even never, seen a prayer for escape from this world to another world of true happiness, there is seldom, even never, found a complaint about their lot in this world. They found their highest ambition within the scheme of this world. Life can be made happy, life is happy, in this world. Such is the general spirit of the poetry of the *Ṛgveda.* Both these facts, the love of Nature and the tone of Optimism, are unique in the *Vedas* among ancient literatures. The fact is that the nation was led by poets and not by conquerors and priests.

The *Ṛgveda* is an ocean of stories. There are very few stories actually narrated in the *Ṛgveda;* there are only allusions and references to stories that must have been current among the people and understood by the people from such allusions. If people were not conversant with such stories, no poet would have made such allusions to the stories in their poetry. The stories relate to gods and men, how gods came to the rescue of men in their difficulties in response to their appeals. The largest number of stories centre round the twin gods Aśvins; evidently they must have been the most popular among the gods. Then there are stories about Indra, how he helped men against their enemies in battles. Even women took up arms and fought in battles. Many stories have grown round some of the great poets; that shows that such poets must have been popular heroes among the people generation after generation so that stories began to gather round their personalities. Martial heroism is the key-note of most of the stories. It is not at all correct to speak of the *Vedas* as religious poetry; a better and really appropriate way to state the fact is that in the *Vedas* we find poetic religion.

No ancient nation has developed such a poetic literature as the *Vedas.* We see little of poetry in the remnants of Babylon or Egypt or Asia Minor or China or the Indus Valley. There are the *Gāthās* in the *Avesta,* the foundation of the religion of Zarathushtra; we see also the *Psalms* in the *Bible.* But they are small in proportion to the whole

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of such religious books and come incidentally. But the *Ṛgveda,* the book of poetry, forms the most important and the largest text among the *Vedas,* given the first rank in enumeration in ancient times and given the same rank in modern times also. It is no wonder that such a nation and their language and literature and their civilization have endured for such a long time, when other nations have disappeared, with their languages preserved only in a few inscriptions and their civilization remaining in modern times only as an antiquarian curiosity.

(b) Atharvaveda

By the side of the *Ṛgveda* which is the most important and the most voluminous poetic literature in the Vedic language and among the languages of the ancient world, there remains another important poetic literature of ancient India, the *Atharvaveda.* The name comes from the ancient poet Atharvan, and the word "Atharvan" has become a synonym of "wise". The name appears in the Iranian tradition as the designation of the wise section of the four-fold Iranian nation, the Athruvans. The *Veda* is also termed *Atharva-Aṅgirasa,* associating the name of another great poet of ancient times, the Aṅgiras. Both of them are very prominent in the *Ṛgveda* as ancient poets who had attained to divinehood, living in the celestial world along with the gods and with the departed forefathers, coming down to the earth to partake of the oblations of *Soma* offered at the religious rituals. The names appearing in the *Veda* cannot be any later interpolation; they are genuine, and the relation of the *Atharvaveda* to the two great poets of antiquity, the Atharvan and the Aṅgiras, cannot be questioned.

Yet in recent times, it is held that the *Atharvaveda* did not originally form a part of the *Vedas* and that it was only after some serious struggle that the text received recognition as a *Veda.* But the question has not been either raised or answered, who undertook the struggle and against whom and for what purpose. They could have remained outside the *Vedas.* Those who undertook the struggle cannot be the descendants of Atharvan and Aṅgiras, since they were among the most revered among the Vedic poets, and they needed no struggle for recognition to have their own poems, or poems in which they were interested, included among the *Vedas.* It is also held that the *Atharvaveda* shows a more primitive culture in relation to the *Ṛgveda,* though later in age; perhaps the *Atharvaveda* originated and developed among people different from the people who developed the *Ṛgveda,* and it was at a later time that it was admitted among the literature of the people who developed the

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Ṛgveda. But it has been shown that the *Veda* had intimate relation to the most honoured of the poets who developed the *Ṛgveda*.

The *Atharvaveda* is as much a *Veda* as any other *Veda*, a literature handed down from the most ancient times by the very people who developed the *Ṛgveda* also. It is as good and as interesting a text of poetry as the *Ṛgveda* and stands second only to the *Ṛgveda* in point of grandeur as poetry. Usually, it is the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* that are enumerated after the *Ṛgveda*, the *Atharvaveda* coming as the fourth. But here I am not following the traditions, in which ritualism has a strong hand; I am writing a book on literature, and from the point of view of literary value, it is the *Atharvaveda* that should come after the *Ṛgveda*. I will designate these two as the poetic *Vedas* and the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* as ritualistic *Vedas*, though these latter two also have a high literary value, even poetic value.

The *Atharvaveda*, like the *Ṛgveda*, is poetry. But when the whole of the *Ṛgveda* is in poetic form, there is a small portion in the *Atharvaveda* that is in prose. The text contains about six thousand verses, while the *Ṛgveda* has above ten thousand verses. These six thousand verses form into 731 poems, while the *Ṛgveda* has 1017 poems. These poems are grouped into twenty Books. There are a large number of poems and verses that are common between the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, and this is the case with the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* also, which too contain verses that are also found in the *Ṛgveda*. Of the twenty Books, the twentieth Book is almost entirely in common with the poems in the *Ṛgveda*. On the whole, about a seventh part of the *Atharvaveda* text is also found in the *Ṛgveda;* mostly such common portions are found in the tenth Book and a good part of them are also found in the first and in the eighth Books of the *Ṛgveda*.

While the text of the *Ṛgveda* has been arranged after classification, on the basis of the authors, the arrangement of the *Atharvaveda* is on another basis. The first Book has poems of four verses, the second Book has poems of five verses, Book III has poems of six verses and Book IV has poems of seven verses. Such is only the general form and not an invariable form. In the fifth Book, the poems are between a minimum of eight and a maximum of eighteen verses. At this stage there is another scheme coming in. In the sixth Book there are 142 poems mostly of three verses each, and in the seventh Book, there are 118 poems mostly of single verses or of two verses each. In Books VIII to XIV and XVII and XVIII there are very long poems, the shortest being the first poem in Book VIII with 21 verses and the longest coming at the end, with 89 verses,

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being the last poem in Book XVIII. The fifteenth and the sixteenth Books are in prose.

Although some such scheme based on the number of verses in the poems is noticeable in this arrangement of the Books, the contents also come in as a factor in the arrangement of the Books. Poems of similar content are put together in many cases. In some Books, the first poem deals with some theosophical or philosophical topic. The fourteenth Book contains only prayers used at the wedding ceremony and the eighteenth Book contains passages used at the funeral ceremony. In this way some factor based on the subject matter also comes in as a basis in the arrangement of the Books. The last two Books contain poems taken from the *Ṛgveda* in the majority of cases, and scholars hold the view that these two did not form a part of the *Atharvaveda* in the beginning, that they are later additions to the text.

The metre is fairly identical with what is found in the *Ṛgveda,* though we do not see in the *Atharvaveda* the same systematic handling of the metres which is noticeable in the *Ṛgveda;* sometimes it is even difficult to distinguish between certain rhythmic prose passages and certain metrical passages where the handling of metre is not very successful. The whole of the *Atharvaveda* is metrical in form except the fifteenth Book and portions of the sixteenth Book which are in prose. The language too in many places approximates more to the later Sanskrit than the language of the *Ṛgveda.*

The *Atharvaveda* has very little relation to the religious rituals of the *Vedas,* and for this reason the *Atharvaveda* is not counted among the ritualistic *Vedas,* which are three. But including the *Atharvaveda* also, the *Vedas* are four in number. In the *Atharvaveda* itself, the other three *Vedas* are mentioned together without including itself among the *Vedas.* The question whether the *Vedas* are three or four in number and whether the *Atharvaveda* has a place among the *Vedas* must be decided on the basis of what is meant by a *Veda;* if a *Veda* is related to the religious rituals, there are only three *Vedas* while, if the literature of those early days is taken as a unit by name the "Vedas", there are four *Vedas.*

The *Atharvaveda* is generally spoken of as a text of witchcraft and magic. There is supposed to be contained in it both white magic and black magic. The former is employed to bring some benefits and the latter is employed to do injury. It is generally said that the *Atharvaveda* was originally outside the scope of the *Vedas* employed for religious rituals and that the text has been later adapted to the ritualistic *Vedas* and to the culture of the people who employed the *Vedas* for religious rituals; in this redaction, consider-

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able new matter also was introduced into the text by way of eulogy about the people who performed the religious rituals. Just as we are not able to determine the age of the *Ṛgveda* and also the relative chronology of the different portions of the *Ṛgveda*, in the case of the *Atharvaveda* also, there are older and later portions and it is not possible to say which are really older and which are later and what their chronological relation is to the *Ṛgveda*. Many late portions of the *Atharvaveda* may be later than even the latest portions of the *Ṛgveda* and it is equally possible that in the text of the *Atharvaveda* there are portions that are earlier than any portion in the available text of the *Ṛgveda*.

Here we have to confine ourselves to the literary value of the *Atharvaveda*, though in a history of literature, chronology cannot be kept out. When there are no specific data to determine the dates, it is better to leave off the point saying that the *Atharvaveda* forms a part of the earliest heritage of literature that we have received from ancient India. From the literary point of view, the poetry contained in the *Atharvaveda* stands on a high footing in relation to similar literature of the ancient world, what are known as the magic spells and incantations of the primitive nations of the ancient world. Just as the poetry of the *Ṛgveda* is not at all religious literature, the poetry of the *Atharvaveda* is also not at all a magic poetry; it is first class poetry coming from highly gifted poets with vision.

Most of such poems have diseases and their healing as the theme. In the *Ṛgveda* there are songs about the various powers in the world related to the different gradations in this world where matter becomes finer and finer, powers that appeal to the poets as some kind of illumination. In the *Atharvaveda*, the theme is taken from some powers in the different gradations of the same material world where matter becomes finer and finer from gradation to gradation, powers that are the causes of the various ailments in man's life. The powers dealt with in the *Ṛgveda* give happiness while some of the powers dealt with in the *Atharvaveda* bring suffering to man. The poetry consists of appeals to such powers; here also some are addressed directly and others are about them, but not directly addressed to them. There is poetry in both of them, in the *Ṛgveda* and in the *Atharvaveda*.

There are poems in the form of glorifications of the curative powers of herbs and water; in this *Veda* we find the oldest stages in the development of medical science in India. The symptoms and the nature of various diseases are very clearly described in some of the songs of poetry. Fever, coughs, jaundice and other diseases are dealt with profusely. They are also personified and they are

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addressed to as if they are persons. In many cases the descriptions are very realistic, poetical and beautiful. There are sometimes some very enigmatic statements also about such diseases, which enigmatic statements we find in the *Ṛgveda* about the gods also. In so far as worms are found growing in diseases and petrified organic bodies, the diseases are supposed to be brought about by worms. They need not be identified with the modern theory of microbes. Such worms are conceived of as manifestations of some evil powers in the world. There are their kings and their governors, there are male and female worms that bring about the diseases, they have various colours and various shapes.

Besides the powers that bring about diseases, there are also powers that bring about other forms of suffering to man, known as goblins (*piśācas*) and demons (*Rākṣasas*). Such demons are also male and female. There are some other beings, the *Gandharvas* that are male and the *Apsaras* that are female. They live in forests on trees and in the rivers. The *Apsaras* are definitely water nymphs and the beloved of the *Gandharvas*. It is not at all correct to designate either of them as evil spirits. It is true that they enter the bodies of men and women and that there are poems in the *Atharvaveda* relating to the driving away of such beings from the body of human beings to their own homes in the forests and the rivers. There is also mention of some plants that emit a sweet smell which have the efficacy to drive way such spirits from the body of human beings. These beings are also spoken of as moving about in the world in the form of dogs, apes and other animals and also in the form of birds like owls.

Many a poem relates to long life with good health. They might have been recited on occasions of domestic rituals. They speak of a long life extending over a hundred years, and this is one of the most frequently occurring wishes in such contexts of songs about long life and health. Besides herbs for curing diseases, we find also mention of amulets to save men from diseases and also to ward off diseases that may affect man. There are also poems relating to the prosperity and happiness of peasants and cowherds and shepherds, and of merchants. Poems also relate to the ploughing of the field and building a house; there are also references to sowing the corn, growth of the corn, harvest, dangers from field insects for the corns and also from fire, and rain for the peasants. There are also poems about cattle and their prosperity, dangers from thieves for the cattle, dangers from wild animals and so on. Success in business for the merchants, dangers on the way from robbers, and other matters relating to trade are also found dealt with in the poems

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There are also poems relating to sins and violations of the moral law, errors in the performances of rituals and various forms of what may be termed as mistakes in a good life. There are expiatory acts for such errors and they are all found as themes for the poetry of the *Atharvaveda*. Here it is not merely what may be called religious errors that come in; errors in civic duties like neglect in paying back debts, gambling and ruins therefrom, marriage and other acts that are against the prescribed law, and various other mistakes in a civic life also find a place in the contents of the *Atharvaveda*. References also are found to evil omens like the flight of some birds, birth of twins, birth under an unlucky star and also to dreams and accidents; there are also acts of expiation prescribed in all such cases of ill luck in man's life. Family discords, rivalry between co-wives, wrath of masters and such other forms of unhappiness in civic and domestic life also form themes for the poetry included in the *Atharvaveda*. Success in pleading in a court of law, ability to address an assembly and such other forms of success in life also find a place in the poetry of this *Veda*. Harmony among the people, freedom from mutual hatred and loyalty to the State, polite and sweet language in mutual dealings among the people, and such virtues are also dealt with in poetic form and included in this *Veda*. Love between husband and wife is another very frequent topic in the *Veda*.

There are also poems that may be styled political in the matter of content. Kings were consecrated when they ascended the throne. There are wars and the sound of battle-drums and cries of victory. There are also benedictions to kings for security on the throne, victory over enemies and success in the government of the State with the loyalty of the people and harmony among the nation. There are also references to weapons used in battle and also protections for the body from such weapons used by the enemy.

Another class of poems in the *Atharvaveda* belongs to what may be related to semiphilosophical and philosophical topics, Cosmological poems and poems relating to the Absoulte Reality in the Universe. Here we find the profound thoughts of the thinkers of the time, their yearning for understanding the mystery of the Universe, their search for realising the ultimate truth in the world of phenomena. Most of such ideas found in the philosophical poems, not different from the philosophical poems of the *Ṛgveda*, are found fully developed in the *Upaniṣads*. In the *Atharvaveda* we find, as in the *Ṛgveda*, the reflections of the deep philosophy of the times, the poets' presentation of the philosophical truths developed by the thinkers of the day. They speak of the Immutable (*Skambha*) and of Time (*Kāla*), as the Absolute.

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There are many ideas that strike us as mystery-mongering as opposed to true philosophy. The fact is that to the people of those days, they were simple facts known to the cultured and educated class among the people, and not at all mysteries even to the people at large. We have lost the clue to untying the knot which alone has come to us. There are many ideas found in the *Ṛgveda* and also in the *Atharvaveda* that are connected with certain numbers and certain colours; we find only the mention of the numbers and certain colours without the basis for the ideas with which they are related. It is unfair to say that the people in those days were deliberately confusing the minds of hearers by talking in enigmatic languages. There are also comparisons with animals in the case of gods and others. Certainly we must distinguish between real philosophy and philosophical ideas made use of by others in composing poems; such philosophical ideas must have become popular and the readers must have been familiar with them and with their import.

There is one poem in the *Atharvaveda* that stands out far higher than any other poem in the whole text, that can compare with anything in the *Ṛgveda* and that can find a place among what may be styled the best poetry in the world; this is the poem on the Mother Earth. If just this one poem had come down to us from the *Atharvaveda* collection and if all others had been lost to us, even then we would have worshipped the *Atharvaveda* as the great poetical heritage from the past. It is really a very beautiful poem full of grand ideas. It is a fairly long poem in sixty-three verses, and that starts the twelfth Book of the *Atharvaveda*. The Mother Earth is invoked to bestow lustre on man, to grant power in the loftiest domain, to pour out milk being a mother to man; the poet sings of the hills and the snow-clad peaks, of towns and villages, of paths for chariots and for carts and for pedestrians, about battle, about victories; he speaks about dance and music on the Earth; he sings of the many nations living on the Earth, having different customs and speaking different languages, but who live together without any over-crowding and mutual enmity. There is the picture of the happy humanity living on the Earth on account of her Grace as a loving Mother.

No one will claim that in the *Atharvaveda,* and also in the *Ṛgveda,* we have only what can be classed as "First Rate" poetry. Who is the poet in any language about whose compositions we can say that they are all of same excellence and that every line is the best specimen of poetry? We judge a poet by what can be called excellent poetry in his collections, by estimating whether such select pieces are of a sufficiently high proportion to call him a great poet; if the best pieces are not by accident, if such best pieces are found to

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be normal in the poetry of any poet, we rank him among the great poets. That is the only rational test for estimating the value of any literature. From this standard, certainly the *Atharvaveda,* just like the *Ṛgveda,* deserves a high place among the literatures of the world. No ancient nation in the world has produced such a literature.

The *Atharvaveda* is not witchcraft, it is not magic. It is just high-class poetry. The theme may have much in common with witchcraft; but what gained currency as witchcraft among the other nations of the ancient world became suitable subject for high-class poetry in India, and Indians were essentially poets and saw poetry everywhere. I am not able to give an answer to the question whether there was witchcraft in the Vedic Age and whether people claimed the ability to cure diseases and bring about happiness through the recitation of spells and incantations. If they did, that must have been a great achievement. If they could not, and at the same time they claimed the powers and made the people at large to believe in their abilities, that is not a question that can be introduced into a history of literature; it must be discussed in a book relating to culture. All that I can say is that in ancient India, cures were effected through three methods, namely, medicine, spells (*Mantra*) and surgical operations. The last is seldom seen mentioned, though that too was practised to some extent; in later stages of the development of the science of medicine also, surgery was not an important factor, and it was medicine and *Mantra* (spells and incantations) that formed the chief items in the science of curing diseases. The *Mantras* (spells and incantations) were also used for many other purposes, besides curing ailments. The practice continued and that with great success, till recent times; it is doubtful whether there is any one at present who can perform the feat. But this is not the topic of the present book.

The poets were able to vision some powers of nature that are concealed from the view of ordinary men and the poets sang about them in high-class poetry. Most of such poems are included in the *Ṛgveda.* Such powers, which came within the vision of the poets, are pictured in the form of illuminations, and they are called *Devas* (what shine). I cannot answer the question whether by the recitation of such poetry and by the performance of various religious rituals, people actually attained victory in battles, whether they secured wealth and happiness in their lives and whether they could gain long life; they are given out as the fruits of such recitations of the Vedic poetry and of the performance of such rituals. What we know is that such a religious atmosphere was found to be very suitable for the growth of a wealth of high-class poetry which is pre-

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served for us in the *Ṛgveda.* In the same way, I do not know whether through spells the people were able to cure diseases and attain happiness and secure their wishes. But in such an atmosphere, there grew up also a wealth of high-class poetry with such points as theme. We find in the *Atharvaveda,* which preserves the latter sort of poetry, a wealth of poetical literature of a high order. The literature is full of very beautiful similes and of fascinating imagery, charming methods of language expression of such ideas and conversion of everything that struck their imagination as beautiful objects however ugly and terrible the things may in their own nature be. Thus when in the *Ṛgveda,* the terrible storms became handsome bridegrooms, as in the case of the Maruts, the group of seven gods, in the *Atharvaveda,* when there is a bleeding, the flow of blood becomes beautiful like handsome maidens moving about.

The people among all nations, both ancient and modern, belong to different strata, so far as cultural advancement is concerned. There might have been some fear of the objects of Nature in the minds of the common people in ancient India, as in the case of other nations; but there were also the advanced section of the people who saw in Nature only certain powers that shone like illuminations to their vision. Similarly there might have been people who professed to cure diseases and bring about happiness through the recitation of some spells, in the same age; but there were the advanced people who saw fit themes for high-class poetry in such practices and sang about them. This latter is found in the *Atharvaveda.* Do we not see people in modern times who bathe at the time of an eclipse and do we not also see at the same time scientists trying with success to hit a rocket on the Moon? When science declares that the world is here and that it evolved from within itself, are there not people who still go to temples and churches and mosques and pagodas and synagogues to pray to the God who created the world and who is protecting humanity? We never confuse religion with science in modern times; we know that science grew up in an atmosphere of religion and grows side by side with religion. In the same way there was perhaps some primitive religion also in ancient times in India and some primitive practices too. But there is the higher aspect of civilization found in the poetry of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda,* which are not primitive religion and primitive practices. They deserve appreciation and admiration as high-class poetical literature inherited from ancient times.

(c) Sāmaveda and Yajurveda

The *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* form what may be styled the poetic *Vedas.* In both we have a collection of what was best in

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poetry contributed by the poets of that age. In the *Ṛgveda,* we have mainly the adorations of the various gods; the world is divided into gradations of finer and finer matter and the whole world is moved by, and the whole world functions on account of, some Life-force, which permeates the whole world. This Life-force appears in different forms on account of the difference in the medium in which it functions. That is the difference between god and god and between god and man. It is a description of this great Life-force in the world as seen by the great poets that forms the main theme in the Ṛgvedic poetry. Man's life forms the main theme in the *Atharvaveda.* Here also the same Force operates in different forms. The poets see such Forces operating in the different states of man's life and they express their reactions in the form of poetry.

There are two other *Vedas* which are more intimately connected with the religious rituals of the time and they are the *Sāmaveda* and the *Yajurveda.* The *Sāmaveda,* in a way, stands between the poetic *Vedas* and the ritualistic *Vedas.* In content and form, it is poetry of the highest order, while in arrangement and purpose it is ritualistic; it consists of selections that are made use of in the rituals, and are arranged also in the order in which the poems have to be made use of in the rituals. There is little that is original in the content of the *Sāmaveda;* mostly the selections are made from the *Ṛgveda* and grouped together and arranged for ritualistic purposes. What is original, is only a small part of it, and this part agrees with the *Ṛgveda* in content and in form. In a work on the history of Sanskrit Literature, the *Sāmaveda* has little scope. It finds its proper place in a history of Art, the Art of Music, in India. The *Sāmaveda* is a collection of poetry, mainly from the *Ṛgveda,* with also some original matter of the same form, meant to be sung at the religious rituals in certain tunes.

The *Sāmaveda* text consists of two parts, the *Pūrva-Ārcika* or the First Adorations and the *Uttara-Ārcika* or the Latter Adorations. The first Book consists of verses grouped into decades or groups of ten verses, in different metres and addressed to the three gods, *Agni* (fire), *Indra* (the warrior hero) and *Soma* (the divine plant whose juice is extracted and offered to the gods at the rituals). The metres are what are suitable for singing. In the printed texts we get only the verses in their original form; they are to be sung in different melodies. They recognised seven notes and various tunes. There are various kinds of songs. All are found in the two Books, especially in the second where it is that the songs are given in their complete form with all kinds of extensions, repetitions, additions and so on, of syllables. In the actual form, the words lose their

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syntactical relations and grammatical forms. There are different song groups bearing different names. The *Sāmaveda* is thus a song book in the *Vedas*.

The *Yajurveda* is entirely a work of rituals. The word comes from the root *Yaj* (to worship). In the *Ṛgveda* we have worship in which the adorations addressed to the gods form the chief element while in the *Yajurveda* there are the acts of worship like oblations thrown into the Fire. This *Veda* has come down to our times in two main Branches, what are known as the *Black* and the *White Yajurveda* (*Kṛṣṇa* and *Śukla Yajurvedas*) and each has its own recensions. The main recension of the *Black Yajurveda* is called the *Taittirīya* and there are also the *Kāṭhaka*, the *Maitrāyaṇī* and the *Kāpiṣṭhala*. In the *White Yajurveda* there are the two recensions of *Mādhyandina* and *Kāṇva*. The main difference between the *Black* and the *White* Branches is that in the former there are the original *Mantras* or incantations to be recited at the rituals along with many explanatory portions while in the latter there are only the original *Mantras*.

The great interest of this *Veda* from the point of view of literary values is that this is mainly a work in the form of prose, and here we find the earliest specimens of literary prose in Sanskrit. Very elegant prose styles had been developed in many an ancient language, as seen from the inscriptions preserved in the sites of ancient civilizations, especially in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. The *Avesta*, the Sacred Book of the Zoroastrians is also mainly in prose.

The main content of the *Yajurveda* is in the form of *Mantras*, which are short prose passages addressed to the various objects that are made use of in the rituals, also to the various acts that constitute the rituals. In the *White Yajurveda*, the entire text is of this nature, while in the *Black Yajurveda*, these original *Mantras* are mixed up with explanatory passages. The prose is very rhythmical and sometimes the prose passages become really poetical in the matter of style and cadence, in the matter of the music in the prose. There are some occasional metrical passages also of this nature, being addressed to the various objects and various acts constituting the rituals; but they are rare and are mostly taken from the *Ṛgveda*. We may ignore them in considering the literary values of the *Yajurveda*. Some samples of such prose formulas are: "Thee for Agni (Fire)", "Thee for Indra" and so on. There are also passages like "Hail for Agni", "Hail for Indra" and so on. Other types of passages are like "Agni is Light; Light is Agni; Hail"; "Sūrya (Sun) is Light; Light is Surya". The *Veda* starts with the passage, "Thee

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for Food; Thee for Vigour". This is when the performer of the rituals cuts the branch of a tree for keeping the calf from the mother cow, so that the cow may yield milk for the next morning's rituals. When the razor is taken, there is the passage addressed to it, "Oh Razor, do not hurt this person". The stones on which the *Soma* is to be pressed are addressed as, "Oh Stones, listen." When the Sacrificial Cake is being prepared and when the dough is put into the pan there is the address, "Spreadst Thou wide." The entire *Yajurveda* proper consists of such short passages.

In this context, the main interest of the *Yajurveda* is its literary value as prose. The words are short, the sentences are brief and expressive and the cadence very sweet. Certain juxtapositions of words give it also a value as poetry, though without metre. Besides the short passages so addressed to the various objects, there are the explanatory passages that appear in the *Black Yajurveda* recension. Here also we find a very elegant mode of narration and explanatory discourses. A large number of stories and anecdotes are introduced to explain the value of the various objects and the various acts that come within the rituals. In such explanations we find interpretations of the sounds and of the words and of the metres that appear in the *Vedas*. Many may appear to be insipid fabrications, meaningless fancies. Yet no one can miss the prose style which is flowing and elegant. Their simplicity cannot be surpassed and yet the sentences do not fall into tiring monotony. There is plenty of variety in the style, in the modes of expression. No other ancient language has preserved such a wealth of very highly developed literary prose as the Vedic Sanskrit. It is this prose literature that continued without any break in Sanskrit in India, and the poetry had a temporary set-back so far as the available literary specimens in early Sanskrit are concerned. There was no such break in the development of prose literature in Sanskrit.

(iii) BRĀHMAṆAS

The text of the *Vedas* has come down to us in two layers; the first is the original text portion and the second is the commentary portion. It is the original text portion that has been called the *Mantra,* and the commentary thereon is called the *Brāhmaṇa.* Such a distinction between an original text and its commentary is found in the basic books of other religions also. At present the *Mantra* or original text portion has come to be called the *Saṁhitā* portion. Really *Saṁhitā* means only "what is recited together" without the words being kept apart from one another and released from the euphonic combinations and other features of the text to be recited together. This basic text is also called *Brahman,* the high-class

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poetry, what relates to the real truth of the Universe, which alone is the true theme of such poetry. *Brāhmaṇa* is a derivative word from this *Brahman* and means "what is related to the *Brahman*", and this is related to the original texts as commentary. That is why the commentary portion is called the *Brāhmaṇa*. The authors of *Brahman* are also related to the *Brahman* and they too are known as the *Brāhmaṇas*. In the present context, a *Brāhmaṇa* is the commentary on *Brahman* or original text.

It has already been stated that in the *Black Yajurveda* recension, there is an admixture of the original passages to be recited at the various rituals and also their explanatory texts. It is such an explanatory text that is called the *Brāhmaṇa*, and in that recension of the *Yajurveda* there is such an admixture of the Original Text (*Mantra*) and the Explanatory Text (*Brāhmaṇa*). All the *Brāhmaṇas* are of this nature, being explanations of the Original Text. Every Original Text, classified into four as the *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajurveda* (with its various recensions), the *Sāmaveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, has its own *Brāhmaṇa* portion also.

Such an interpretation takes the form of an interpretation of the ritualistic side and an interpretation of the philosophical side. Although both of them come within the scope of the generic term *Brāhmaṇa*, a distinction is drawn, and it is only the explanatory text relating to the rituals that has come to be known as the *Brāhmaṇa;* the explantory text relating to the philosophy of the original text is known as the *Upaniṣad*. In some of the Vedic Branches, there is a small portion in between the interpretation of the rituals and the interpretation of the philosophy, called the *Āraṇyaka*. This term is generally translated as Forest Texts. *Araṇi* is the fuel which they use for kindling the Sacred Fire at the rituals, and *Araṇya* is the place where such fuel is obtained, which is really the garden attached to the home; it is not at all what can be termed the forest. *Āraṇyaka* is what is related to such *Araṇyas* or gardens. The instruction in philosophy is given in the peaceful, secluded gardens attached to the homes, and not in the homes themselves where there is always bustle and disturbance.

(a) Brāhmaṇa (Ritualistic Text)

Each branch of the *Vedas*, including the two main sub-divisions of the *Yajurveda*, has its own *Brāhmaṇa*, and some of them have more than one. In all such *Brāhmaṇas*, the main topic is the description of the ritual so far as that branch of the *Veda* is concerned. Each of such *Vedas* is to be made use of by a particular set of persons who take part in the performance of the ritual. The *Ṛgveda* is handled

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by persons known as *Hotar* (invoker) who invoke the gods to the ritual by the recitations of the adorations contained in the *Ṛgveda*. The *Yajurveda* is handled by the persons known as *Adhvaryu* (the performer of the ritual) and they actually perform the various items in the ritual, reciting the short passages contained in the *Yajurveda* and addressed to the various objects and various acts that form part of the ritual. The persons known as *Udgātar* (those who sing out) sing the verses set to tune and collected together in the *Sāmaveda*. The text of the *Atharvaveda* has no direct relation with the ritual. The persons known as *Brahman* (poet) are supposed to form a part of the group of the persons who perform the rituals. Such persons have no direct part to do nor any passage to recite. Yet there is the *Brāhmaṇa* or commentary texts relating to this *Veda* also.

The part to be played by each of these four classes of persons who participate in the ritual and the occasion for the use of the passages contained in the various branches of the original text form the chief topic of the *Brāhmaṇa* or commentary texts. Incidentally various kinds of interpretation of the passages in the original text and also of individual words and of the various metres come into this commentary text. There are also laudations of the various rituals and stories are narrated in support of such laudations. In interpreting the importance of the rituals, the text enters into philosophical, theological and other discussions besides the grammatical and ritualistic considerations which latter form the chief theme of the interpretation texts of the *Vedas*, called the *Brāhmaṇas*.

The *Brāhmaṇas* are in prose, with occasional metrical passages, mostly reproductions from the original text of the *Vedas* with some independent metrical passages added to them. The prose is the same that we find in the portions of the *Black Yajurveda* other than the simple *Mantras* or passages addressed to the various objects and various acts constituting the rituals. The same simple language, elegant style and cadence are met with in the *Brāhmaṇas* also, which are found in the original text of the *Yajurveda*. There are no complex sentences; all are simple sentences. At the same time the sentences are not insipid or monotonous. In the narrations of stories found in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts (commentaries), there is a movement in the language, which is effective and forceful. The standard of prose style has been set in the *Brāhmaṇas* (started in the *Yajurveda*), and the same standard continued through the later stages of sciences and philosophical literature.

The *Brāhmaṇa* literature itself is a very vast one; and this literature reveals the existence of an immense literature that is now

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lost to us, to which references and allusions are found made in the course of the interpretations of the original Vedic texts in the *Brāhmaṇas*. There must have been some semi-religious and secular literature growing up in those days. The secular literature must have been in various forms. There must have been literature relating to the stories about, and to the adventures of, the great heroes of old and also chronicles interspersed with discussions on a variety of topics. The former must have been what developed into the *Itihāsas* of the later times, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* which relate respectively to the great national heroes, Sri Rama and Sri Krishna, the latter being the divine helper of the five brothers, the sons of Pāṇḍu, who are technically the heroes of the work. The latter must have developed into the *Purāṇas* of the later days, which deal with a variety of topics besides narrating the stories and anecdotes about the great heroes.

There is reference to a large variety of literary patterns made in the *Brāhmaṇas*. There must have been a large variety of popular litrature in the form of stories about gods and heroes and the general public, presumably in the form of poetry, current in those days; they are *Kathā* (Stories) and *Ākhyānas* or *Ākhyāyikas* (Narrations) and others. There must also have been Fables about animals and birds and other beings. Ghost stories and stories about Fairies and Goblins and other kinds of Supernatural Spirits too must have been familiar literary varieties.

Another variety of literature that must have been developed in those days relates to the sciences and professions. The Science of Language had been developed in India in those days to an extent unknown in the history of any other nation. It included general grammar, phonetics, etymology, semantics and prosody. Astronomy and medicine had also attained a high degree of advancement. Astronomy included the science of Omens and other aspects also. The science of medicine included surgery and various kinds of "Magic" processes through the recitation of incantations and through rituals also. Mathematics, including geometry, had also attained a high development. No one can doubt about the development of philosophy, and in those days, there was no distinction drawn between philosophy and the various sciences, both physical and biological.

The *Brāhmaṇa* literature has a great interest to us as a storehouse of what can truly be called literary art, especially in the form of prose literature, with a very elegant and melodious style, simple, rhythmic and flowing, clear and attractive. The various kinds of stories actually found in the literature and references to popular beliefs and the common ways of life in its varied aspects prove that it

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was a literature of the general public and not of a narrow and exclusive community. The available specimens are admirable and what is more worthy of admiration is the fact that it preserves the recollection of a vast literature developed by a nation of intense activity in life, wide in compass. Much is lost, but what has been lost has not lost its value.

(b) Brāhmaṇa (The Upaniṣad or Philosophical Text)

According to Indian tradition, and also according to the real nature of the contents and form, the *Upaniṣads* are not a distinct class of literature in the Vedic period. They form the final portions of a unitary text called the *Brāhmaṇas* or Interpretations of the *Brahman* or *Mantras* (the original texts) bearing the alternative name, the *Upaniṣads*, on account of its special contents of a philosophical nature, what may even be called the "Esoteric Teaching". The interpretation of the original texts was taken up for instruction by the teachers in their homes, and the students were brought to the home of the teachers by the parent. This is a ceremony that was performed by the parent when the son attained a particular age, generally about eight years. The ceremony is known as *Upanayana* (*Upa*=near; *nayana*=bringing). After this ceremony, the student received instruction from the teacher in the latter's home. After completing the general course in the form of the study of general literature and various sciences, along with the study of the Original Text of the Vedas, the student started on a study of the ritualistic interpretations of those original Texts. At the termination of this side of the interpretation, the student approached the teacher for instruction in the philosophical interpretation of the Vedic Texts.

In this second stage of instruction received by the student from the teacher, the teacher chooses the garden separated from home as the place best suited for the purpose. In the first stage, the students, perhaps many in number, sit together in front of the teacher who sits against them and facing them, for imparting the instruction. In the second stage, the group becomes very small and sometimes it is a single student. There is more intimate personal contact between the student and the teacher; the student sits close to the teacher and that is the reason for designating the text as *Upaniṣad* (*Upa*=near; *ni*=down; *sad*=sit). The text is also called the *Vedānta* (*Anta*=final part; of the *Veda*). The instruction given in the prior stage is also called *Grāmya* (what takes place in the *Grāma*=Village Home) as distinct from the instruction in the second stage which is designated *Āraṇyaka* (what takes place in the *Araṇya*=Garden). This method of giving instructions in the Garden, removed from the every-day life and noise of the home, was an ancient institution in India, start-

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ing from the Vedic times, which are the earliest known epochs in the History of India.

The texts known as the *Upaniṣads* are the final chapters in the *Brāhmaṇa* or interpretation of the *Mantras* (Original Texts). Between the chapters that close the interpretation of the ritual side and the chapters that start the interpretation of the philosophy side, there are, in the case of a few Branches of the *Vedas*, some chapters devoted to an elaboration of the disciplines attached to the teaching given in the garden, and hence those chapters are called the *Āraṇyakas*, what relate to the teaching in the *Araṇya* or Garden. In some cases there is a slight difference in marking the close of such *Āraṇayaka* Chapters and the beginning of the *Upaniṣad* Chapters. This shows that the whole text of what relates to the rituals and what relates to philosophy of the Original Texts has been considered as a strongly held together unit; and this unity is both in the form and in the content. The ritualistic text is permeated with philosophy and the philosophical text is a continuation and an expansion of ritualism, with a good element of ritualism within it.

The *Āraṇyakas* need not be dealt with separately in this context, as they do not appear in all the *Vedas* and as they are very brief also. In comparison with the *Brāhmaṇa* texts, the *Āraṇyaka* texts are negligible in size, and even the *Upaniṣad* texts are rather brief. They do not contain any elaborate treatment of philosophical problems. They contain only very brief notes on some philosophical points. While the *Brāhmaṇa* texts dealing with ritualism and the *Āraṇyaka* texts relating to the disciplines associated to instruction of the Mysteries in the Gardens, are both in prose with only some stray metrical passages appearing here and there, the *Upaniṣad* texts can be classified as prose texts and metrical texts. The latter are fewer in number and such texts are also relatively very short. In the texts taking up a metrical form, the topics of philosophy are dealt with in an impersonal way, while in the prose texts we get discussion among people, with a strong subjective element in them. A disciple approaches a teacher for instruction in the Mysteries and there is the instruction given in the form of a dialogue between them. Sometimes there may be more than one disciple in the situation, asking questions and receiving replies by way of clarification of the points in philosophy. Sometimes the discussion takes place in the court of a king and the king himself takes an active part in the discussion. In nearly all the cases, what we find in the *Upaniṣad* is a treatment of a philosophical point in an impersonal way, without any one to explain the point specifically mentioned, or we find a discussion among some philosophers and thinkers, sometimes in the royal court,

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or a dialogue between a disciple or a few disciples on one side and a teacher on the other side. In one, which is one of the most important *Upaniṣads*, the entire teaching is given by Yama, the first mortal in the *Ṛgveda* to see the Path to the other world, to a young boy who was handed over to Yama by the boy's father in a fit of anger, and who had to depart from his home and from this world to the region of Yama. It contains a philosophical teaching included in a mythical story. This *Upaniṣad* is in the form of a metrical text, and yet is a dialogue with a prelude.

The metres found in such treatises have become very simple and regular in comparison with the metres found in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. They are all verses of four lines, and each line is normally made of eight syllables; sometimes there are verses that have four lines of eleven syllables each. Verses of four lines with more than eleven syllables are rare. The four-line scheme has become a regular feature in the metrical set-up of poetry. The lines have a very sweet cadence, the language being simple and clear, with short words and easy construction. In spite of the simplification of the metrical pattern, the literary merits have not suffered.

The prose is a continuation of the prose of the *Brāhmaṇas* and of the earlier *Yajurveda* texts. The prose style keeps up the same simplicity and elegance, with a poetical beat and rhythm, with a large variety though simple in the scheme of sentence construction, avoiding complex sentences. The *Upaniṣads* also contain many narrations of stories to illustrate the points of philosophy discussed and explained in the texts, sometimes as a prelude to the explanation of the philosophical point. It is the abundance of such stories, more than any other point, that establishes the popular nature of the text. The *Upaniṣads*, like the Original Texts of the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, interpretations of the ritualism, form the literature *of* the people, *for* the people and *about* the people. Its philosophy does not alienate the texts from the people among whom the philosophy developed.

Sometimes the *Upaniṣads* are spoken of in modern times as containing the "Forest Wisdom" of India. It is a mistake due to wrong semantics, wrong assignment of a fancied meaning to a word. It is true that the *Upaniṣads* contain what is technically termed *Āraṇyaka-Vidyā*, which is the *Vidyā* or wisdom of *Araṇya* or Garden. *Araṇya* in later Sanskrit came to have the meaning of forest; but that is a later meaning and not the meaning of the word in the Vedic times. *Araṇya* is only the place where the people gathered *Araṇi* or Sacred Fuel for their rituals, and that is only the Garden near about the homes. It is said that the place where the Secret Wisdom contain-

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ed in the *Upaniṣads* is to be imparted should be separated from the homes in such a way that from that place the roof of the house cannot be seen. It need not be that every home in the village had such a garden attached to it; it can quite well be that there were extensive gardens near about the villages and that the teachers used such open places in common where they could go and impart the secret wisdom to the disciples.

The wisdom contained in the *Upaniṣads* is known by various terms. It has already been said that the wisdom is known as the *Āraṇyaka-Vidyā* or the wisdom of the Garden, as distinct from the *Grāma-Vidya* or the wisdom of the Village home. The Upaniṣadic wisdom is also known as the *Rahasya Vidyā* or the Secret Wisdom or the Wisdom about the Mysteries. It is also known as the *Parā Vidyā* or the Supreme Wisdom or the Ultimate Wisdom. But nowhere in the *Upaniṣads* is there a hint that it is cut off from the affairs of the world. It is the same teacher who gave the instructions on the common matters to the disciples and also the instruction on the Mysteries. The only difference is that the former was imparted in the home itself while the latter was imparted in the gardens outside. The discussions and the expositions reported in the available Upaniṣadic texts were conducted not only in the homes or the Gardens belonging to the teachers; it was also conducted (and mostly that was the case) in the royal courts in the presence of the kings and with the kings themselves actively participating in it. Nowhere in the *Upaniṣads* is it hinted that the wise people, the thinkers who discussed such matters, came to the royal courts from the forests and that they retired to the forests after such discussions. All of them were normal citizens living in the cities and in the villages, the only dfference between them and the common man being that the former were wiser in relation to the latter.

The *Upaniṣads* record the wisdom of the age developed by the people and among the people. The problems discussed by the wise people are not detached from the problems facing man in his normal life; the problems arise out of the problems of normal life and the solution of such problems ended also in the solution of the problems of life. It is this human interest that makes the *Upaniṣads* important for us. It is not at all implied that a man must have severed his connection with the affairs of his life if he is to take to the study of the Mysteries nor that those who had given instructions in the Mysteries had renounced their place in civic life and formed themselves into a separate Order. They, like the common people, thought of the affairs of life, the only difference being that they searched deeper and wider than the common people, that they pro-

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bed into the finer and finer aspects of the external reality than what come within the sphere of the activities of the common people. It is this close association of the *Upaniṣads* with the life of the common people that enabled the literature to come down to the present age; otherwise the Upaniṣadic, and even the whole of the Vedic literature would have had the same fate that befell the literature of other ancient nations like the Assyrians and the Hettites, nay, of the people who built up the civlization of which remnants have been preserved in the Indus Valley. All those civilizations, all their literature, were developed by the Emperors assisted by Priests, and with them the literature and the civilization also disappeared. But the Indian civilization and the early Indian literature were developed by the people and among the people, and dealt with the life of the people; the result is that the civilization and the literature like the nation, continued and survived many a change and many a cataclysm that the nation had to face.

As literary remants from the ancient times, the *Upaniṣads* have a great value as literary art. In the poetical *Upaniṣads* that have adopted a metrical form, there is real poetry, showing high dexterity in handling the language, in introducing similes and imageries in the poetic presentation of profound philosophy. The two poetic *Upaniṣads,* the *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad* and the *Kaṭhopaniṣad,* deserve a high place among the specimens of poetic art both of India and of the world. They are not the productions of hermits who have escaped from the world into the forests; they are the compositions of people with high imagination who could see facts in the life of the nation that are beyond and beneath the reach of the common man and his language, and who presented such truths in the language of the common man and in a way that could be followed and understood by the common people. The prose *Upaniṣads* too have their value as specimens of literary art, with an elegant style and lucid and pleasing presentation.

(iv) VEDANGAS (Exegetical)

The two groups of literature, consisting of the *Mantras* and the *Brāhmaṇas* (the Original Texts and their commentaries), the latter being again divided into the *Brāhmaṇa* proper and the *Upaniṣads* (the ritualistic and the philosophical commentaries), form what is called the Vedic Literature. There was a time when only the Original Texts were classed as Vedic literature, and when the Commentaries were held as a separate class. Thus in a text of later date purporting to give the etymology of Vedic words, there is the reference to "Vedas", designated as *Nigama* and other terms whenever there is a citation from the Original Text of the *Vedas,* and

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when the citation is from the *Brāhmaṇa* or Commentary portion, the reference is given as "Thus is recognised". But, in later times, the *Veda* is taken to be the combination of the Original Texts and the Commentaries.

The commentary of the Vedic texts had its extensions and branched off in various directions. Generally there are recognised six systems of exegesis, and the texts relating to these six systems are known as *Vedāṅgas* or Limbs of the *Vedas*, being auxiliary texts for the proper interpretation, understanding and application of the texts. The six systems relate to Phonetics (*Śikṣā*), Grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), Astronomy (*Jyotiṣa*), Prosody (*Chandas*), Etymology (*Nirukta*) and Ritualism (*Kalpa*). Besides these six items, there have been other systems also relating to the exegesis of the *Vedas*. There is a group of texts known as *Prātiśākhyas*, which term means "what relate to the various Branches", namely, the Branches of the *Vedic* Texts. Each of the two *Vedas* namely, the *Ṛgveda* and the *Yajurveda* in two Branches, has its own *Prātiśākhya*. The text deals with the way in which the *Vedas* are to be recited, and comprises the various branches of grammar like phonetics, phonetics being the most important factor in these texts. They form a different set of exegetical texts, distinct from the phonetics treatises enumerated in the list of the *Vedāṅgas* or "Limbs of the Vedas". Then there are the Indices of the Deities, Metres and Authors of the different parts of the *Vedas*, and they are called the *Anukramaṇīs* (Indices). In this way, a vast literature has also developed round the *Vedas*.

The great interest of these Exegetical texts, from the point of view of literature, is that they developed a new prose style in Sanskrit, which continued in the later stages in the development of Sanskrit Literature. It has already been said that in the *Black Yajurveda*, there are two portions intermixed, one consisting of short prose passages to be recited during the rituals and the other of running on prose passages of the nature of a commentary. It is the latter that has been developed in the *Brāhmaṇas*. The former style of prose was developed in some of the *Vedāṅgas*, the auxiliary texts for the study of the *Vedas*. Those short passages in the *Yajurveda* cannot be understood without the running on prose commentary also. Thus a passage like, "Spread wide" has not any meaning without the explanation, "With this passage one must spread the Sacrificial Cake". This system of short prose passages with a commentary developed into a new mode of dealing with a subject in a work. The main headings into whch the subject could be analysed, what may be called the section-headings or paragraph-headings, are given in the form of a work dealing with the subject, and there is also a running commentary on it. Since the short passages hold the subject matter

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together, while it is the commentary that presents the actual form of the subject matter, they compared these two sets to a string of gems held together with a thread. They could not think of anything in the world except as an art. The short passages are called *Sūtras* or threads. Many of the *Vedāṅgas* or auxiliary texts for the study of the *Veda* are of this nature.

The *Vedāṅga* texts or auxiliary texts present three distinct modes for presenting a subject, and all of them continued and developed in the later stages in the growth of Sanskrit literature. One mode is to present the whole subject in the form of a metrical text. What has been adopted in the other languages for poetry, the metrical form, has been used in Sanskrit even from the earliest times for the presentation of a subject, for scientific purposes. The *Prātiśākhya* or phonetic and grammatical treatise relating to the *Ṛgveda* was written by Śaunaka and is in the form a metrical work. So is also the work called the *Bṛhaddevatā* or the Major Index of Deities, giving the names of the gods to whom the various poems and verses in the poems are addressed from the beginning to the end in a continuous way, also by Śaunaka. Śaunaka has also written some other shorter indices relating to other topics in Vedic exegesis.

There is another mode of presenting a subject, in which the whole matter is explained in a running on style in prose. The *Nirukta* or Etymology of the Vedic words by Yāska is of this nature. Here too there is an original text of a basic nature on which this is a commentary; but that basic text is not of the nature of what was termed *Sutra* or Thread. Here the basic text is in the form of a list of words, what is termed the *Nighaṇṭu* or lexicon, a list of words where in the beginning synonyms are collected together, and later many rare words are grouped, with a final section where the names of the various gods are given. On this basic list, Yāska has given a running commentary giving the etymology of the words, along with various other matters related to his main topic.

The largest number of works on Vedic exegesis come under the third mode, where the subject matter is given in the form of short prose passages called the *Sūtra* or Thread. The authors who formulated these passages must also have given their own commentaries, which may not have been committed to writing or to a regular system of codification into a book. The interpretations continued from generation to generation and at some later stages, such commentaries were written out in the form of a book. The works on Metre, on Grammar, on Astronomy and on Rituals are of this nature. We have only the collection of the short passages as the original text, and their written commentaries are of a much later

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date. What was called the ritual texts, *Kalpas,* come under three heads of what relate to the great rituals like the *Soma* Worship, to domestic rituals and sacraments, and to the general conduct of individuals. The original texts on these three sections relating to the various *Vedas* all come under this mode of *Sūtra* or Thread.

(v) ANTIQUITY

In a book on the history of Sanskrit literature, one is bound to give some dates to make it a history. Chronology claims a greater share in a history at present than the facts of history themselves. But in ancient India, they gave greater importance to the facts of history than to the chronology relating to the facts. In the matter of determining dates, the evidences available in Sanskrit literature are very scanty. Nothing is definitely given and practically everything has to be deduced from the facts of history as they are presented. This is the case with the *Vedas* and also with the various poets of a later time that will be discussed in this book.

Max Muller was the first to try to settle the date of the *Vedas.* He took the date of Buddha at about 500 B. C. as the starting point. The whole of the *Veda* with its three chronological divisions of the *Mantra* (original text), *Brāhmaṇa* (ritualistic commentary) and the *Upaniṣads* (philosophical commentary) had been completed prior to the time of Buddha. Thus, we can work out the date backwards from 600 B.C. He assigned a span of two centuries for the development of the three stages and thus arrived at 1200 B.C. as the date of the beginning of the Vedic literature. He calculated this period of two centuries on the basis of the time taken for a similar change in the Greek language during its development through various stages. He allowed another two centuries for the very beginning of the *Vedas,* since what we have is only later additions and not the earliest compositions. According to this, the earliest stage in the development of the Vedic literature must be put to about 1400 B.C.

Some scholars were prepared to accept the *Vedas* as contemporaneous with the civilization of Babylon and assigned the *Vedas* to the third or even fourth millennium before the Christian Era. But Max Muller's date was challenged on astronomical calculations by Hermann Jacobi in Germany and Bal Gangadhar Tilak in India. They found indications of the recollections of a time when the Vernal Equinox was in the constellation Orion. Now it is in the beginning of Piscus. On this calculation, the *Vedas* must be put to the fifth millennium Before Christ. But few scholars have accepted this computation; they do not believe that at that early

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stage in the development of human civilization, calculations of the positions of constellations could be accurate enough to provide a satisfactory basis for determining dates. The two scholars who have depended on astronomical data have presented many other astronomical calculations in support of their position. If the Vedic people knew a time when the Vernal Equinox fell at the time of the position of the Sun in that constellation, then the date of the beginning of the *Vedas* must be considerably pushed back from the date generally assigned to that event.

Another calculation has been made on linguistic basis. There is the *Avesta,* the Sacred Book of the Zoroastrians; that book is put to about 1000 B.C. The language of this *Avesta* is very close to the language of the *Ṛgveda,* and it is held that the separation of the two groups of Aryans into the Iranians with their *Avesta,* and the Indians with their *Vedas,* could not have been much earlier than the date of the *Avesta.* If the separation had been far earlier, then the similarity of language between the *Ṛgveda* and the *Avesta* should have been far less than what is found. This calculation also supports the date calculated by Max Muller, that is about 1400 B.C. About 1912, evidence for an earlier date for the beginning of the *Vedas* was found in the Hettite ruins in Asia Minor where in the records of a treaty, the names of some Vedic gods were found, invoked as witnesses to the treaty; it is argued that there must be some long time allowed for the names of the Vedic gods to migrate to such a distance. The date of the treaty is not much later than the date assigned for the beginning of the *Vedas,* and as such the beginning of the *Vedas* must be pushed back much further. But this is not accepted by most of the scholars; they argue that the gods need not be recognised as Vedic and that they can as well be pre-Vedic gods of the Aryans at a time when the Iranian and the Indian Aryans had a common home to the west of India. The date of 1400 B.C. is therefore accepted by most of the scholars in spite of this discovery.

About 1922 A.D. some remnants of an ancient civilization were discovered at two sites along the valley of the Indus River. This civilization was found to be far different from the civilization of the *Vedas* and was nearer to the civilization of Babylon, and for this reason, this Indus Valley civilization was accepted as more or less contemporaneous with the Babylonian civilization, that is, about the fourth and third millenniums before Christ. It is believed that the Vedic civilization started in India only after the destruction of the Indus Valley civilization, and it is also held that the invasion of the Vedic Aryans was one of the causes for the destruction of the Indus

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Valley civilization. This calculation too is in support of the date of the *Vedas* as about 1400 B.C. But there are many people who do not accept the priority of the Indus Valley civilization in relation to the *Vedas*. There are many who accept them as contemporaneous and even as two aspects of the same civilization. There are others who hold that the Indus Valley civilization is posterior to the *Vedas*.

All scholars have admitted that within the Vedic literature itself there is no hint of any migration of the people from a foreign land. What we find is that the people had been settling down in the country for a very long period, developing a motherly love for their country, calling the Earth the "Mother", venerating some rivers like the Indus and the Saraswati and the Ganges and Jumna and also the regions near them. Other rivers like the Sutlej and the Beas also play a very prominent role in the lore of the people, many important events having taken place on their banks, that have become the common tales among the people. They sing about their ancient forefathers who had founded their civilization. All such facts found within the literature favour an assumption that the people had been developing their civilization within the country itself for a very long period and that if at all they had come into the country from some foreign home, that must have been so far back in history that it has no sort of value for determining historical dates. But there are various evidences based on ethnology, linguistics and geographical features that make it necessary to accept an event in the history of man's civilization called the Migration of the Aryans, and on such evidences it also becomes necessary to hold that the Indian Aryans could not have come to their western regions long before 2000 B.C. and that they could not have crossed into the Indian soil long before 1500 B.C.

The Indian tradition itself, which is ancient and which is unbroken, is that there was a very ancient civlization in the country which began to decline and that at about 3101 B.C. a great king ruled the country, who arrested this downward fall in the civilization of India. This necessitates the acceptance for the *Vedas* of a date far earlier than 3000 B.C., and the beginning of the civilization must be pushed back much further. There must have been some historical event of great importance which enabled the people to begin an Era from 3101 B.C., which is the standard Era of India. The above are the various theories about the beginning of the Vedic civilization, which is also the beginning of the Indian civilization as it continues to-day. All accept that the civilization must have started at least as early as 1400 B.C.

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(vi) CONCLUSION

What is called the Vedic literature is a vast and wealthy heritage for modern India from old and is also a great heritage for the present-day humanity. No ancient nation has produced such a rich literature. It is rich not merely for its size but also for its variety and its artistic quality. There is practically no field of thought in which they have not given us their own views, and their views are very scientific and rational, showing an advanced civilization and an active life. Noble art, realistic religion, rationalistic philosophy, applied sciences and also pure sciences, speculations on very deep problems in linguistics, treatises on practical arts and many other subjects find a place within the Vedic literature. What we have actually got at present is itself very valuable, and what we have actually secured is only a small part of what must have been produced. Even this remnant of a large literature surpasses all that the other ancient nations have contributed to humanity.

It is for the literary value of what they have contributed that the Vedic literature has been introduced here; it is accepted that whatever has been written is not literature, though in a wider sense, and in a rather loose way it is possible to apply the term literature to whatever has been written in language form. The various modes of literary expression, the different literary patterns, that have been developed in ancient India have their literary values. They have also formed the foundation for the later developments of literature in Sanskrit, and also in the later languages of India. The very terse prose formulas, the fluent prose style and the metrical mode of treatment in the case of subjects like science that do not form usual theme for poetry—these are all unique in the development of the literature in Sanskrit. Even the general prose style adopted for the treatment of sciences and other subjects has always been associated with a literary beauty, showing the inseparable combination of the intellect and the heart of the people. This combination, started in the Vedic times, has never been broken up at any future time in the history of Sanskrit literature. In scientific works, there has been always an element of artistic beauty, and never was poetry written which did not carry with it some strong element of intellectualism.

In the Vedic literature, what we find is not merely a highly developed art but also some highly developed theories about literary art. They distinguished the language of popular use from the language of poetic art. They speak about language as capable of being divided into four parts, of which only a fourth part is current among humanity at large for practical, worldly uses, the other three

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parts being concealed from the common man in what may be termed caves, unmoving, known only to the great poets with imagination and intuition. One may gaze and see something; but that is not the poet's language. One may lend his ears and hear something; but that is not the language of the poet. Language presents its real beauty, its real form, only to the poet, like a loving wife showing off her charms only to the husband, wearing beautiful robes. They draw a distinction between a shallow lake and a deep lake; people can go and bathe in both. Yet there is a distinction. There is the same distinction between the common language and the language of the poets. The language of the poet presents the truth of an object, while the language of the common people present only their views and beliefs about things and not the things themselves. There are hidden truths transcending the sphere of the ordinary man.

In an ordinary language, one may change the words, one may change the order of words and one may pronounce the word with any accent or with no accent, paying no attention to intonations, cadence and other features of language. But such liberties cannot be taken in the case of the language used by a poet. The words themeselves, their order, their accent, their pronunciation with all features like prolongation, open and closed, nasalisation and stops—all have a value which will be lost if any liberty has been taken with the language. This is a great difference between the ordinary language and the language of the poets. The Vedic literature forms also the foundation for the theories about literary criticism that had been developed in later times in Sanskrit literature.

The Vedic poets had a very high conception of the position and value of art and poetry in their national life. To them poetry was the strongest force that moulded and developed and preserved their civilization. They were victorious over the enemy who tried to ruin their civilization, on account of the power of their poetry. Gods had been helping them in their life, in their wars against their enemies. But the gods themselves derived their power from the poetry of the great poets of the times. The gods loved poetry; they took delight in listening to the recitation of their poetry. The gods were able to win victory over the Dark Forces of the world on account of the power they derived from their poetry. Thus what ruled the world and what controlled the life of man in the world was the poetry of the nation.

The poetry of the *Vedas* that we have is only the record of a relatively late stage in the history of the ancient Indians, and the poets of that late age remembered only their ancient poets as the founders and protectors of their civilization. There must have been

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ancient kings; there must have been ancient people who amassed immense wealth. But their names were not preserved and no one in later times remembered them. What they remembered was the names and the achievements of their ancestors who were poets. All the ancient personages mentioned by the poets whose poems have been preserved, were poets and their poetry was the most valuable heritage they had from their ancestors. The gods also loved poetry in ancient times and such poets were the favourites of the gods because of their sweet poetry.

In modern times, the Vedic literature forms the subject matter only for philological studies; they speak of the etymological, original meaning of words and the changes in meanings that came about gradually in the language and the causes for such changes. The Vedic literature has been ignored simply as primitive literature of a nomadic people. When the Vedic literature has been subjected to scientific analysis and tested as source for philological studies, the result has been wonderful; the Vedic literature itself has preserved a fund of philological information. If now the angle is changed and if the Vedic literature is handled as specimens of high-class poetry, as examples of great literary art, the result will be of far greater value to us.

The Vedic people composed the Vedic poetry only as literary art; the wrong procedure was started in India itself. At a later stage, the *Vedas* were honoured by Indians as an accessory for the performance of various kinds of rituals and also as a source book for the philosophy about the Absolute. The rituals secure Heaven for man and the philosophy of the Absolute secures final release for man from this world of sin and suffering. Thus religion stepped in where at one time there was only art and life. In the modern age of science and rationalism neither the Heaven nor the Final Release has any value in life and so they were thrown out and what remained was only the shell in the form of the language. At the time when Sanskrit, along with its earliest stage of the *Vedas* was taken up for study in modern times, everything that went beyond the civilization of Greece, either in time or in geographical area, was considered as primitive; it was in Greece that culture and civilization first made their appearance, and that culture and civilization developed in the West. The result is the theory that whatever came from the East, including India, was primitive, outside the sphere of civilization. Thus the interest in Sanskrit language was confined to antiquarian studies.

It is not at all necessary to leave off the philological side in the study of Sanskrit. In the Vedic times too there has been an intense

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study of philological questions; but the study was not confined to philology. Art and the life of man played its very important role in the study of subjects in the Vedic age. What is wanted is a reversion to the Vedic approach to the study of literature. Literature must again be studied as art with a very intimate relation to man's life. If such a new approach is made, which is only a going back to the Vedic traditions, then the *Vedas* would be found to be some of the best specimens of poetic art in the world and also as high-class specimens of various artistic patterns in literature. It will bring a new wealth to India and also to the world.

If the Indian nation continues today, if the Indian nation can be proud of an unbroken history of civilized life, if the Indian nation still holds certain high ideals in life in all its aspects, if the Indian nation is able to remain in the forefront of the modern nations, which position India had all along held, it is because of the fact that the Indian Civilization was the work of poets, as against the civilizations of other nations that were built up by Conquerors and Priests. Poets saw far off into the future; what we see now had been within the sphere of the vision of the Vedic poets and also of their ancestors who too were poets. Conquerors and Priests see only their immediate surroundings and their immediate present, and when such Conquerors and Priests vanish, their civilization too crumbles down. But the civilization built up by poets continues. It is only the civilization of India that has been built up by poets and that is the only ancient civilization which continues as a modern civilization also.

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III. ITIHASAS AND PURANAS

(Epics and Chronicles)

(i) GENERAL

Sanskrit literature is divided into two broad divisions; they are the *Vedas* and the Classical Literature. The literature described in the last chapter was, from very early times, taken as a single group, which came to a close at a very early time in the history of Sanskrit literature, and no later literary production was allowed to be admitted into that group. Whatever literature came in as continuations of the literary works described in the last chapter was taken as commentaries on such works and never as an integral part of that ancient literature. Most of the texts described in the last chapter had been explained by later commentators; but such commentaries form part of the later group of literarure, now designated as Classical Sanskrit literature.

The Vedic literature spreads over a very long period, and yet the original material along with the continued additions were together taken as a single whole. But the additions of a later stage were kept separate, as commentaries on the Vedic texts, not included in the Vedic texts and texts of an auxiliary nature for the study of the *Vedas.* This may indicate that after the time when the texts belonging to the class of auxiliaries for the study of the *Vedas,* there had been some break in the *Vedic* tradition and later additions were made only after such a break. At the end of this break in the continuity of Vedic literature, new additions must have been made with the old stock counted as a distinct group.

There must have been gaps between texts and texts belonging to the totality of the Vedic literature. There must have been some interval between the original texts of the Vedas, what are known as the *Mantras,* and the commentary portions known as the *Brāhmaṇas,* including the *Upaniṣads.* But such an interval did not mark any break in the continuity. It has been accepted that the entire Vedic texts, consisting of the *Mantras* or original texts and the *Brāhmaṇas* or the commentaries, including both the ritualstic and the philosophical interpretation (the latter being known also as the *Upaniṣads*) must have been completed by the time of *Buddha,* the great founder of the religon known by his name, and that is about 500 B.C. About the auxiliary texts that are of use in studying the *Vedas,* nothing definite can be said on the point of date. Some of

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them may be later than *Buddha* and some may be earlier. They cannot be much later than the time of *Buddha* since these texts found a place among what are known as the *Vedas*. Their authorship is also assigned to the Vedic Teachers and not to the Teachers of a later date.

The poetry of the *Ṛgveda* and of the *Atharvaveda* is something that is unique in its artistic value. For a very long time similar poetry had not been produced in Sanskrit, though there was no break in literary tradition. All the texts included in the Vedic literature, other than the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda,* are not really poetic literature though they contain some poetic touches and high literary merits. The true poetry of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* reappeared in Sanskrit literature only with the two great *Itihāsas* (Epics), the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Along with these two, there also appeared a wealth of literature known as the *Purāṇas,* Ancient Chronicles. They belong to a literary pattern for which there is no parallel in any other language, ancient or modern.

The names *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* appear in the Vedic literature itself. We do not know the real content and the real nature of such literature, though there must have been a wealth of literature coming under the two classes, as can be determined by the very frequent mention of these two sets of literature very prominently in the field of the Vedic literature. The term *Itihāsa* may mean *Iti*-(thus)-*ha*(verily)-*āsa* (was). They may be ancient tales about great heroes. That is what we find in the *Itihāsa* literature of a later date, and there is no reason to assume that the term had changed its meaning. The term *Purāṇa* means what is ancient. The texts of this name belonging to a later stage contain what may be called generally as "Ancient Wisdom". They deal with the problems of Creation and Dissolution of the world, about the various periods in the history of the world, about the dynasties of kings and about the kings. They contain geography, law, politics, various sciences and systems of philosophy, various doctrines about man and his relation to the world and his origin and his destination, about gods and different strata of beings above man and below man, including demons and goblins and fairies, and about all sorts of wisdom so to say.

Both the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas* contain the same material. From the texts of a later date that are available, we can say that in the *Itihāsas*, there is the central story about a great hero, and that all materials relating to religion, philosophy, sciences, law and other subjects come in only incidentally introduced into the narration of the story of the great hero in various contexts. Similarly, in the

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Purāṇas we find that the main subject matter is the accumulated wisdom on all the topics like religion, philosophy and sciences; here incidentally the stories of great heroes also come in as introduced in a variety of contexts. What is main in the *Itihāsas* becomes subsidiary in the *Purāṇas* and what is subsidiary in the *Itihāsas* becomes the main topic in the *Purāṇas*.

The works, both the *Itihāsa* and the *Purāṇa*, are very long ones running on to many tens of thousands of lines. They are mainly in the form of poetry, prose coming in only very rarely. The metre employed in the works is the Vedic metre called the *Anuṣṭubh*, with four lines in a verse, each line containing eight syllables. Longer metres with eleven syllables and with other lengths also appear for a change. But the number of lines in a verse has become definitely fixed as four. Such a fixation of the number of lines in a verse has been done even during the period of the *Ṛgveda*, which is the earliest stage in the development of poetry in Sanskrit, so far as available literary records go. But the *Ṛgveda* continued the other earlier structure patterns with three and with more than five lines in a verse.

In spite of the similarity of the contents between the various works coming under the pattern of *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*, there is an individuality for each one of them. Each presents the same facts in its own way. That constitutes the originality of the works called the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*. According to the tradition of India, the *Itihāsa* known as the *Mahābhārata* and all the *Purāṇas*, given as eighteen in number, are by the same author; his name is Veda Vyāsa, also known as Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana and as Bādarāyaṇa. His name does not appear in the Vedic literature. But he is connected with the authors of the *Ṛgveda*, according to tradition. It has been already said that the Books of the *Ṛgveda* from the second to the eighth are by some chief poet and by the members of the family bearing the name of that poet; the chief poet of the seventh Book is called Vasiṣṭha, and as a matter of fact, there is no poem in that Book by any members of his family. Vasiṣṭha's son is Śakti (and the name appears in that Book of the *Ṛgveda*), and Śakti's son is Parāśara. Parāśara is one of the poets of the *Ṛgveda*, though his poems do not appear in the Book of Vasiṣṭha in the *Ṛgveda*. Although we find mention of Vasiṣṭha and the two generations following him, in the *Ṛgveda* itself, there is absolutely no hint in the *Vedas* about this great personage, the great-grand-son of Vasiṣṭha, who is the most prominent personality in India in the post-Vedic times.

Veda Vyāsa is directly related to the heroes of his great poem, the *Mahābhārata*, and although the *Mahābhārata* cannot be called

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his autobiography, it contains his reminiscences of the events that took place in his lifetime, in which he had played a very prominent part. He is the founder of the post-Vedic civilization of India, which was a revival of the Vedic civilization with proper adjustments to the environments that had undergone a great change through the passage of time. This great founder of the post-Vedic civilization of India is the son of a Vedic poet, Parāśara, through a girl belonging to the fishermen community. The poet had to cross a ferry and a girl was taking the passengers across the waters in a boat. Parāśara fell in love with that girl and they had their secret union; the result was the birth of a boy who became the wisest man of the age and the founder of a new civilization in the country and among the nation. He was not a Conqueror; he was not a Priest. He was by his low and illegitimate birth what the Priests would have condemned to eternal perdition. But the nation, not dominated by Conquerors and Priests, accepted him as the leader for his own internal worth.

Through the personality of Veda Vyāsa, the new civilization was joined on to the Vedic civilization, which was facing some decadence. His father was a poet of the Vedic time and he played an important part in restoring the civilization of the country with proper adjustments. He wrote out his own reminiscences in a grand epic known as the *Mahābhārata*. His time is about the beginning of the Classical Era of India, which started in 3101 B.C. Historians will not accept this chronological relation of the poet who composed the *Mahābhārata* with the *Vedas*. As a matter of fact, Indian tradition too does not accept the beginning of the Classical Era as following the *Vedas* by a generation or two. There is a long span of time separating the *Vedas* from the *Mahābhārata* and from the beginning of the Classical Era.

We need not lay much emphasis on the chronological data here; what this relation actually means is only this much that there was no break in the current of civilization between the *Vedas* and the later stage. There was a decadence and the volume of the current had thinned down and the pace of movement had also slowed down. But the current continued and attained volume and speed again with the new flood of civilization for which Veda Vyāsa was the chief agent. The Vedic literature, especially the *Ṛgveda*, is a prominent landmark in the history of Indian civilization, the first that is known, and the next landmark is the collection of literatures known as the *Itiḥāsas* and the *Purāṇas*. The two *Itihāsas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, are more prominent than the *Purāṇas*, and the *Mahābhārata* is especially so; for this reason, the *Mahābhārata* is called the Fifth *Veda*, adding one more to the four *Vedas* of old.

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The *Vedas* represent the literary record of a great national movement. They built up a great civilization, and when there were strong enemies attempting to destroy their civilization and when there was also some internal disturbance on account of the defection of strong people from within also, who were favouring the enemies and even joining them, they started this strong movement to preserve their civilization; the poets of the age, as must have been the case all along previously also, were the leaders of this movement. In the same way, the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas* represent the literary record of a national movement when the civilization began to decline again, and when the great poets, headed by Veda Vyāsa, were the leaders of this movement for restoring their ancient civilization.

Between the poets of the *Vedas* and the poets of the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas,* we do not see any great figure as a prominent poet. We do not know the actual length of this interval between the Vedic age and the age of the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas.* All that we know is that by the time of Buddha, the three layers of the *Vedas,* namely, the *Mantras* or original texts, the *Brāhmaṇas* or the ritualistic commentaries and the *Upaniṣads* or the philosophical commentaries, have been completed. Historians also say that the *Itihāsas* had their origin, though not in their present form, at about 400 B.C., that is, about a century after the death of Buddha. In between the *Vedas* and the *Itihāsas,* great changes had come over the civilization of the country in its various aspects. It is very doubtful whether the span of two centuries, between the close of the *Vedas* about 600 B.C. and the beginning of the *Itīhāsas* about 400 B.C. is sufficient for such a great change to come over the whole phase of the life of the nation. Since the *Itihāsas* started about 400 B.C. the only possibility is to push back the age of the *Vedas* to a much earlier time, perhaps by a millennium or even two.

The changes were many-sided, immense and substantial. In the Vedic age, the great *Yāgas* or rituals like the *Soma* ritual, were the occasions for the national festivities. It is true that only a few persons could have actually participated in the rituals; yet they were national in character. There were no Priests; the persons who participated in the rituals were no more Priests than the Ministers in a Democratic form of government can be called autocrats. The gods were invoked through poetry accompanying some rituals. This changed into the worship of the gods in temples through some symbols like idols. There arose a special class of people who performed this temple worship.

Kings became more prominent in the life of the people. In the life of Buddha, it is noted that a king offered him his kingdom,

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which Buddha declined as lesser than what he was looking for. In the Vedic age it is unthinkable that a king would have offered a kingdom to a poet. The kings and their powers and privileges were always kept behind, and the poets dominated the life of the people. Buddhism became a religion patronised by kings, while the religion of the *Vedas* was a religion of the people, with poets as the leaders of religious thought.

Some other-worldly outlook on life problems became very noticeable. To the Vedic people the world in which man lived was practically everything; they never cared for another region or another condition. The world was real and afforded everything that is necessary to satisfy the needs of man in his life. The highest goal is within the reach of man in this world. A belief that the world is a place of suffering, that life in the world is a series of evils and man's goal is outside and beyond the world and in another condition, caught the minds of the people. The world was held to be an insignificant accident, what is real and permanent being something which the world is not.

The changes were there; they could not be eradicated. But they could be adjusted. That is what the poets of the *Itihāsa* age, headed by Veda Vyāsa, attempted to do and what they achieved, though only in a partial way. The prominence of the kings became a fact in the view of the people. But the kings could be presented as subordinate to the poets and to the wise people who alone lead the nation. A great god may be there and a single man may have been raised to the level of a god. But the poets of the *Itihāsas* made the great gods to come as men and live among men as their companions, as was the condition in the Vedic age. So the theory of *Avatāras* (Incarnations of the gods) was propounded. A single man was not lifted to the level of a god, separated from the general humanity. The reality of the world and the value and importance of the life of man in this world was again emphasised. There were many prominent people who had renounced the world and who retired to the forest homes, wearing peculiar robes and leading peculiar ways of life distinct from the normal ways of the general people. They were introduced into the *Itihāsas* as the propagators of the new doctrine of the reality of the world and the value and importance of life in the world.

Edicts of kings and sermons of priests were replaced by the poetry of the wise people as the most effective way of reaching the people and moulding their life. The *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas* are the literary records of the attempt of the poets, the true leaders of the nation, to restore the Vedic civilization in the country and among

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the nation. There are two *Itihāsas* and eighteen *Purāṇas*. One of the *Itihāsas*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the eighteen *Purāṇas* are supposed to be the work of a single poet, Veda Vyāsa. The other *Itihāsa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is the work of another great poet, Vālmīki. When it is said that the eighteen *Purāṇas* are the work of the author of the *Mahābhārata*, what is meant is only this that they represent the literary records of poets who attempted to give the teachings of the author of the *Mahābhārata*. The unity is only in the spirit and not in the actual authorship. Each author presented the theme in his own way; there was his individuality in his own presentation while the main line was kept up following the teaching of Veda Vyāsa. The variety and volume of the different works on the same central theme shows only the width and depth and intensity of the national movement in the matter of the restoration of the Vedic civilization in the country through the medium of poetry, which was the medium adopted by the leaders of the Vedic age, replacing the newly introduced royal edicts and priestly sermons.

(ii) THE MAHABHARATA

The *Mahābhārata* is the largest work in any language in the world, so far as its length is concerned. It contains about a hundred thousand verses of four lines each; the major portion of the text is covered by the verses having eight syllables in each line, and the number of verses with a larger number is comparatively small. There is a small portion in prose. This prose portion, practically negligible in comparison to the extent of the whole work, preserves and continues the style of the *Yajurveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. The language of the whole poem is akin to the language of the Vedic poetry, in its simplicity and lucidity, in its flowing style and in its easy expression. But the language had undergone a considerable change from the Vedic times. Yet we find an attempt at imitating some Vedic forms, perhaps to give it an antique touch. Whatever deviations there are in the grammar from the grammar of the Classical Sanskrit Language, must have been deliberately introduced to bring about this antique colour. It cannot be said that the work, as all the other works in this category of *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*, represents a stage between the *Vedas* and the Classical Sanskrit.

The author of the work is Veda Vyāsa, son of the Vedic poet Parāśara through a girl belonging to the fishermen community. The king of those days named Śantanu met that girl at the same place and he fell in love with her and wanted to marry her. But he had already a queen and also a son, and the father of the girl refused her hands to the king unless that girl could become the real queen, with her son as heir to the throne. So his son, named Bhīṣma, re-

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nounced his claims to the throne and also took a vow not to marry, so that there would be no possibility of any rival to the throne when the newly married wife would have a son. Such a son was born. named Vicitravīrya, who became king in due course. But he died young without a son born to him. His mother, who was also the mother of Veda Vyāsa, asked Veda Vyāsa to beget children by the two queens who were his sisters-in-law. In one queen was born, through this union, a son named Dhṛtarāṣṭra and in the other, another son named Pāṇḍu. Dhṛtarāṣṭra was blind and so when the sons came of age, the younger son, Pāṇḍu, became the king. Pāṇḍu had five sons and Dhṛtarāṣṭra had a hundred sons. Yudhiṣṭhira was the eldest son of Pāṇḍu and Suyodhana was the eldest son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

Pāṇḍu also died young and there were only the children to succeed him. During their minority, a regency was constituted with the elder brother of the deceased king, who was blind, as regent and a few among the wise people of the time as counsellors. The most important among them was the grand-uncle of the regent himself, Bhīṣma, who had renounced his claims to the throne in order to enable his father to marry that girl of the fishermen community. On account of his vow, he could not sit on the throne himself.

The children grew up. Each side claimed succession to the throne. Yudhiṣṭhira had the claim that he was the eldest among them all and also that he was the son of the previous king. Suyodhana had the claim that he was the eldest son of the ruler who was on the throne. The children had their proper education and were all trained well in the use of weapons and in all the arts of war. The regency council did not desire to provoke a quarrel on the question of succession, and so it was decided that the kingdom be divided and each side be allowed to rule over that half of the kingdom. Suyodhana, the eldest son of the regent, was placed on the throne in the ancestral capital and Yudhiṣṭhira his rival was given the other half with a new capital built for him.

The rivalry among them grew and Suyodhana always felt that he should have been made the king of the whole kingdom. With the assistance of his own counsellors, he managed to bring the other half also into his own hands through some guile and the rival cousin with his brothers and queen had to retire to the forest for a stipulated time. The agreement was that the half of the kingdom would be restored to Yudhiṣṭhira at the end of that time if he returned from his exile. The time came, and Suyodhana would not surrender what he had enjoyed for so many years. All methods of conciliation failed and a war became inevitable. All the kings in the country joined one side or the other, and in a fierce battle Suyodhana was

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defeated and he and all his brothers were killed. Yudhiṣṭhira ruled the kingdom for a long time and he too retired to the forest, leaving the grandson of one of his brothers, the only surviving prince, to succeed. His name was Parīkṣit. He too died soon after he became king, through a snake bite, and his son Janamejaya succeeded him. This prince wanted to have a revenge on the serpents for the death of his father and arranged a big serpent-sacrifice, where through spells and magical rites the snakes were drawn into the fire.

At this time, Veda Vyāsa had composed a grand Epic giving his own reminiscences of the great events of his time, and he taught it to his disciple, Vaiśampāyana. This disciple also went to the great Sacrifice and casually mentioned the composition of the grand Epic to the king, who desired to have the whole Epic recited in the royal assembly. In that assembly there was a bard named Ugraśravas who listened to the recitation of the Epic, and after the festivity, he went to the forest called Naimiśa where lived many sages headed by Śaunaka. Here it may be mentioned that Śaunaka is one of the most important poets of the *Vedas,* who had written many indices of the *Vedas* also. On the request of the asembled sages, this bard recited the whole poem to them. This is the form in which we have the Epic at present, as recited by the bard who had heard it recited by Vaiśampāyana to king Janamejaya.

There is the simple core of the story. The princes belonged to the Bharata dynasty, and so the war is called the Bhārata War, i.e., the war related to the Bharatas. The Epic is also called by the same name as the war. Thus, the author himself meant the Epic as a poem of martial heroism in a war. A huge edifice had been erected in the form of the Epic poem around this central point. Into this epic was introduced everything that was known at that time. The author himself says that whatever there is elsewhere is what is in that epic, and that whatever is not in the epic is nowhere else to be seen. According to the poet himself, this is the greatest poem ever composed and whoever listens to the recitation of this poem cannot take delight in anything else and this poem is the source and inspiration for all other poets. It deals with victory, and kings desiring victory should hear this poem sung, and they will conquer the whole earth and will triumph over all enemies. Thus, it is a War Epic. It is unfortunate that it was converted into a religious epic in the public view.

The epic is divided into eighteen Books. The main story is preceded by a long and detailed description of the ancestry of the heroes, starting from the Moon; for this reason the dynasty is called the Lunar Dynasty. Many famous kings preceded the heroes, and

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the heroes for this reason of their ancestry became fit subjects for a grand epic. Mercury (Budha) was the son of the Moon and Purūravas was the son of Budha. The story of Purūravas and his consort Urvaśī forms the theme for a poem in the *Ṛgveda,* and is also the theme for a drama by Kālidāsa of a later age. Many of the earlier kings in the dynasty were heroes in the Vedic and pre-Vedic ages and their names are mentioned in the Vedic literature. As a matter of fact, Śantanu the great-grand-father of the heroes is known in the *Vedas,* Śantanu, the king who married the girl belonging to the fishermen community. All the great ancestors were valiant warriors and heroes of many an exploit, and the heroes of the epic are described as worthy descendants of such great ancestors.

The real epic is from the birth of the heroes till the great War and the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira after his victory in the War. Immediately after the description of the War, there are two Books in which various subjects are brought in for detailed presentation, and form instruction given by Bhīṣma, the grand-uncle of the heroes of the epic. Then the epic loses its great interest, and in a few Books there is the description of the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira and his final departure to the forest and his ascent to the Heaven with his brothers.

In the description of the ancestors of the heroes, there are many stories introduced about the exploits of those ancestors who have also become heroes of India. In the course of the narration of the main story also, many side stories are introduced to illustrate a point or to substantiate a thesis. Discourses on the rules of good life, which contain much of practical wisdom, delineation of characters, descriptions of Nature, philosophical discourses and all sorts of subjects find a place in the epic. The character delineations are superb, each character keeping up his individuality. Their feelings and emotional manifestations and their experiences and reactions to various situations, and the large variety of characters that come together in the field—all such features make the work a study of human nature. The number of women characters is something unthinkable in any other literature of the world. The heroine of the epic, Draupadī, is a type by herself and there is no parallel to her found in the work of any other poet in any language.

As Nature Poetry, it ranks very high in the literatures of the world. Mountains and rivers and trees and creepers and flowers, many seasons, the days with the burning sun and the nights with the cool moon and the sky studded with stars, birds and animals—all come together along with men, all distinctions of animate and inanimate and of lower and higher strata in creation being com-

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pletely eliminated. Each responds to the feelings of the other, and there is nothing in the Universe that has no life and feelings.

The artistic unity and symmetry, the harmony and the right proportion of the various parts and the natural way in which events follow events and items are introduced in various contexts—all these make the epic a work of real art. In spite of all such extraneous material introduced into this simple story that forms the core, every such part fits into it and the main story is never missed in spite of such a mass of accretions. The heroes are such grand personalities and their exploits are so appealing that nothing can conceal them from the attention of the reader.

It is not an epic written to please the kings sitting on the throne. If that had been the case, we would have seen in the epic much of kings sitting on the throne and their palaces and their paraphernalia and emblems of imperialism and their pomp. But we find the heroes out of their palace. Their palace and their short span of activity in the palace form only a fitting prelude to their life in the forest after their exile. They are all very happy in the forest in the company of Nature and also of the wise men inhabiting the forests. Even on the most precarious occasions, we find the heroes as great poets and artists admiring Nature and enjoying the beauties of Nature.

The heroes had some adversities in their early childhood and later they ruled the kingdom. But their real grandeur is manifested only when their sufferings started. Sufferings have their remedies within man and also around man. Sufferings are due to the lack of proper adjustment of man and his life with the surroundings and not an innate feature of the surroundings in which man has his life, and man need not abandon the world and withdraw from his activities in the world for becoming really happy. The heroes never thought of renouncing the world and not one of the wise men advised them to retire from life and look for release from the sufferings of life by finding an escape from the world. They saw beauty in the world in all its aspects, both in the palace and in the forest, and more so in the forest; they fought in the world and overcame the sources of sufferings in life. Man's journey is within the world and his goal and his destination are also within this world. The method is to work within the world. This is the culture of the Vedic people; this is the culture which the heroes and the poet of the epic inherited from the days of the *Vedas*. This is the culture which the epic presents to the world, to lead men into a useful life of intense activity with a goal and a purpose, when new codes of life like renouncing the world and seeking a goal of absolute happiness outside

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and beyond the world, were being preached by priests patronised by kings. In the life of Buddha and in the history of the spread of Buddhism, we find frequent allusions to kings having joined the Order of Monks after renouncing the world, also of crowds of men joining the same Order in the hope of escape from this world and arrival at a state of absolute happiness in another region and in another condition. Here we find a poet showing to humanity how kings worked within this world and fought their way in this world and secured their goal within this world and within their life in the world.

Ascetics who had renounced the world and who had taken to a new mode of life with special robes and new ways of physical make-up, had become such an important feature in the national life at that time that no poet could eliminate them or even ignore them. So the sages who had taken their abode in the forests are also introduced into the epic as chief characters; but they never mislead the credulous humanity, they never convert them and admit them into any new Order. They help humanity in leading a really useful life with a purpose instead of searching for unattainable goals, not worthy of keeping even if they are attained.

A new culture was finding its way into the life of the people; women began to be condemned as seats and sources of sins and sufferings, and avoidance of women became a virtuosity according to the new codes, which are absolutely against the Vedic culture. Here in this epic women are again introduced as equals, helpers and companions of man in a full life. In the new culture, learning was becoming the monopoly of a few people who formed themselves into a special Order, and the general public were being kept outside of learning, and being compelled to depend on the few people belonging to the Order for the proper understanding of the rules of good life. In the Vedic times, those who participated in the rituals were not members of any special Order; they were all common citizens living in their homes and leading a normal life along with the other citizens. There were demarcations of human capacities and aptitudes, but no classifications of the people into permanent and hereditary groups.

In the *Mahābhārata* we find a revolt against this danger to humanity and an attempt to revive the doctrines of the equality of men and their equal opportunities. Women come into active life, with their own wisdom and with their own abilities, without being compelled to be dependent on men and without being condemned by men. The new culture was a *men's* culture, a culture patronised and adopted by kings and developed by priests who were all *men.*

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There is introduced into the epic a spirit of revolt against the hereditary caste system that was taking root in the social organisation following the new culture. Kings again become wise, discoursing on philosophy; persons with the heredity of learning and wisdom become great warriors. Others kept outside the field of learning and wisdom are brought in as the most learned and the wisest. Droṇa and Aśvatthāmā were Brahmins according to family traditions and they fought like great heroes in the War. Sañjaya and Vidura were outside the pale of learning according to the tradition, and they come in as the best counsellors of the kings, as the wisest, with the best form of practical wisdom. When the newly brewing spirit was limiting learning to a certain group, the Vedic culture of learning being the common property of the people is being revived in this grand epic.

Students of historical criticism speak of the development of this Grand Epic from a small and simple form into its present complex and immense size through a few centuries. They say that the original form must have been constituted about 400 B.C. and that the present form must have been completed about the 2nd or 3rd century after Christ. From the point of view of literary criticism there are difficulties in postulating such a development of the grand epic from a small central poem, through accretion of matter, during the centuries that follow, so that at a certain stage it has assumed the form in which we find the epic at present. Various questions arise. Were the additions made by a single person or were additions being made in different places by different persons at varying times? In such a state of gradual development we cannot explain the unity in the whole epic; we should have had many epics in many places and at different periods. But the epic that we have at present is substantially the same. There are variations in recensions as current in different places, and even these recensional variations are not many in number. There are only two or three recensions. There are the North-eastern, the Western and Southern recensions. These recensional variations are due to alterations made in the epic in its original form by certain schools that can be classified as the North-eastern, the Western and the Southern. But there must have been some one who had put the epic in a specific form, which cannot be much different from the texts that we have in the present recensions.

The story as we have it in the extant *Mahābhārata* must have been current four or five centuries prior to Christ, perhaps earlier. But it is doubtful if the text existed in its present form earlier than the second century before Christ. The great grammarian Patañjali of the second century before Christ does not cite any passage from

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the *Mahābhārata,* though he alludes to events found in the *Mahābhārata* and also mentions the names of persons who play a part in the epic. But there is the difficulty in so far as *Pāṇini,* whose work Patañjali comments on, who must have lived about five centuries before Christ, refers to the accent of the compound word *Mahābhārata.* If there was a *Mahābhārata* prior to the grammarian Pāṇini, then that must be different from the present *Mahābhārata,* not recognised as a great poem by Patañjali who should have known such a work. There must have been some great poet about the first century B.C. or first century A.D. who had worked out the present poem called *Mahābhārata.*

According to Indian tradition, the *Mahābhārata* War took place about 3000 B.C. or slightly before that, 3101 B.C. being the beginning of the Classical Era of India, and the *Mahābhārata* War having taken place a little before this. No one will assert that Veda Vyāsa who lived at that time composed the *Mahābhārata* that we have at present. Veda Vyāsa must have been a historical persọn who lived at that time, and he might have composed some poem giving an account of the great events that had taken place in his time. Some such work must have been current through the ages and at a certain stage, about the beginning of the Christian Era, there must have been a great poet who composed the present *Mahābhārata.* Certainly he did not create his material; the material was already there. He did not merely collect the materials; he constructed a grand edifice out of the material which he gathered. No poet shows his originality in the creation of his material; he takes the material and his originality is in the arrangement of the material in an artistic form. And in this arrangement he has shown great originality in the matter of constructing the edifice known as the *Mahābhārata* epic. What were dry narrations were made lively and interesting. Characters were illumined. Descriptions of Nature were added. The parts were joined together with a sense of proportion and with propriety in location. The whole presentation after such an arrangement is the original contribution of the poet who composed the *Mahābhārata.*

After Chandragupta and Asoka of the Mauryan Dynasty, there was a national decay in the country and the revival was undertaken in the second century B.C. by the founder of the next dynasty, Puṣyamitra. Some great poets and statesmen must have lived in the time of Puṣyamitra and his immediate successors. A political revival was possible on account of this occasion for a cultural revival also. The author of the *Mahābhārata* must have been one of the great poets who flourished about that time. His name and his whole personality have vanished. His contribution alone survives. From the

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time of the *Vedas*, it had been a peculiarity of the Indian genius that personalities counted nothing to them, and the principle alone is what mattered with them. Thus, the religion is greater than the prophet and the poetry is greater than the poet. What he gave was the artist's presentation of an ancient material, which material came down from the time of Veda Vyāsa, and so the epic came to be known as the composition of Veda Vyāsa. Certainly, Veda Vyāsa could not have written the portion containing the episode of the Snake-sacrifice of Janamejaya where the epic of Veda Vyāsa was recited by the disciple of Veda Vyāsa before the royal assembly, and also the subsequent episode of the bard, reciting the whole epic before the assembly of the sages in the Naimiśa Forest.

At the time when the *Mahābhārata* War took place, there lived another great personality named Kṛṣṇa. He belonged to a branch of the Lunar Dynasty, and the heroes of the epic belonged to another branch. Kṛṣṇa was also the cousin of the five brothers who came out triumphant in the war between the two groups of cousins. In the story about his life as has been handed down to us, there were many miracles worked out by him during his life in a cowherd settlement to which place, as soon as he was born, he was carried to save him from his maternal uncle who wanted to kill him. When he came of age, he killed that uncle, put the rightful heir on the throne, himself built a big palace and lived his whole life in royal style. He helped his cousins in all their adventures and in all their calamities. He was present at the *Mahābhārata* War as the chariot-driver of Arjuna, the third among the five brothers, to whom he was particularly attached.

In the epic, he comes in only as one among the many heroes that had taken a part in the events that took place at that time. Considering his great personality, a supplement was added to the epic giving a succinct account of his life and his achievements, in three Books. The historicity of Kṛṣṇa does not come in for consideration for a literary critic. There must have been some such great man, just as there must have been such a great poet like Veda Vyāsa. That was the time when individual persons were segregated from the common people and exalted as a god, and others too detached themselves from the generality of the people and claimed to be the custodians of the wisdom of such a divine person and also the teachers of the Law propagated by that divine person. They formed themselves into a separate Order, cut off from the people. Such a line is entirely opposed to the real genius of the Indian nation, starting from the Vedic times. When kings and priests lifted a person to the heights of a god, the poet saw in another great man the god himself in

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human form, living among people and moving among the people. The idea of a god had taken such a deep root in the minds of the people that it could not be plucked out, and so the poet could only temper the god. According to the changed spirit of the people, there was need for a divine element in a truly great person, and according to the traditional genius of the nation, there cannot be any one person who belongs to a separate category. The poet knew how to handle the situation and Kṛṣṇa was presented as god in human form, living like any other man. In the epic itself, he was kept on the back-side of the scene, the heroes, his cousins, forming the main characters on the front of the stage. While kings and priests were making man subordinate to a god, the poet brought down that god to the level of man.

The *Mahābhārata* is unique among the literary specimens of the world on account of its size. It is about ten times as big as both the epics of Homer put together. In the whole world there are very few epics, and if all of them are put together, they may not be much bigger than this one epic. It is an artistic unit, well planned and well executed by a true and great poet. In form also it has its own features not seen in the epics of other languages. It is in the form of a dialogue. There is the dialogue between the Bard and the Sages in the Naimiśa Forest, and when the Bard starts his recitation of what he had heard recited by Veda Vyāsa's disciple Vaiśampāyana, in the presence of king Janamejaya, the recitation by the Bard takes the form of a dialogue between the king and the original poet's disciple. Within this narration too, whenever stories are narrated, then the whole conversations between characters are given in the form of direct dialogues; there are no such statements like "such and such a person said" within the poetry, and such statements are given outside of the narration in poetic form. Even such stories and various other parts of the story are introduced during dialogues between two persons, and so the narration too is in the form of a dialogue, the hearer asking questions during the narration and the narrator continuing the narration.

This form gives a dramatic touch to the epic. Further we are always in the midst of people and not in a dreary, solitary place listening to a dry narration. We always know that we are in this world peopled by men and women with all the phases of Nature in communion with the men and women. This brings to the epic a human and also a realistic colour. We see the various characters moving and talking in front of us when we read the epic: we never feel solitary with a book in our hand. First we are carried to the assemblage of the sages in the Naimiśa Forest and then we are

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carried on to the assembly of the king. When the situations change, we are transported to the various situations in which the narrations take place. We take part in the events that are narrated. This is a very ancient literary device found even in Vedic literature. The communion is not between the poet and the reader nor between the reader and the book; there is a communion between the reader and the characters that play their parts in the events that are narrated in the epic. Either the events are brought to us or we are transported to the events.

(iii) THE RAMAYANA

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is by tradition, the first secular poetry in Sanskrit. Prior to that there was only the Vedic poetry. The medium for secular communication was only prose. Such a tradition could have started only if there had been a long break in the tradition of poetry in India, after the Vedic age. The question whether the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* is older cannot be settled with the material that we have now in our possession. All that we can say is that after the Vedic age, there had been some break in the tradition of poets in India and these two works form the first in the age of the revival of the declining cultures of the country. The epic is known as the "First Poem" (*Ādi Kāvya*).

The author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is Vālmīki, who is known as a contemporary of the events described in the poem. He composed the epic towards the close of the life of the hero and had it recited before the hero during a great festival which the hero was conducting. There is some sort of identity between the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* in this respect. While the *Mahābhārata* was recited on the occasion of a great festival by the author's disciple in the presence of the great-grand-son of one of the heroes, and this recitation was reproduced by a bard in the assembly of the sages in the Naimiśa forest, the *Rāmāyaṇa was* recited by two disciples of the author in the presence of the hero himself during a festival. This is the only difference.

The epic is a compact unit even in the theme, in contrast to the *Mahābhārata* which is an immense assemblage of material, the unity being essentially in the artistic construction and not in the theme. There is the story of the hero Rāma, and in the course of the narration of the story of the hero, some other materials are introduced, like various stories and various subjects relating to religious and philosophical problems. The ancestry of the hero is also included in the epic. The hero belonged to the Solar dynasty, in which there had been many great kings previously. Daśaratha was one of the

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kings of the dynasty; he had three queens and in the eldest queen he had a son named Rāma and in the second, who was also his favourite, he had another named Bharata. In the third queen there were two sons Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna. Lakṣmaṇa was always more attached to Rāma and Śatrughna was more attached to Bharata. They all grew up and they were all married. Rāma's consort was Sītā, daughter of King Janaka of Videha.

Daśaratha desired to formally install Rāma on the throne as Heir-apparent and the whole arrangement was ready when the second queen who was his favourite managed to extract a promise from the king that her son would become the heir and that Rāma would be sent to the forest. Rāma and Sītā with Lakṣmaṇa went to the forest, where a demon named Rāvaṇa managed through some guile to draw away Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa from Sītā and to abduct her. Rāma secured the friendship of a local king named Sugrīva and the latter's minister Hanūmān went in search of Sītā and found her out in Laṅkā, the island kingdom of the demon; he brought back the news; a large army was collected for attacking Rāvaṇa and, making a bridge across the sea, they invaded Laṅkā, killed Rāvaṇa and took Sītā back. During this exile, king Daśaratha had died and Bharata refused to sit on the throne, but ruled the country as regent till Rāma would return after the stipulated period of exile. Rāma returned to the kingdom and sat on the throne. This is the main story of the epic.

There is a sequel. People began to gossip about the possible loss of chastity in the case of the queen who was in the custody of a demon, and so the king had to abandon her. At that time she was pregnant. She was under some pretext taken to the forest and left there. Two sons were born in the forest. At that time the sage Vālmīki had taken care of her and brought her to his hermitage where the two sons were born. The identity of Sītā was concealed from all both by herself and by the Sage. The two sons received their education in the hermitage.

At this time Rāma was performing a great religious festival called the *Aśvamedha* (Horse-sacrifice) which all emperors were performing. At this festival the queen was represented by her effigy made of gold, as Rāma refused to marry a second time and as a queen was necessary for the performance of any religious festivity. It was at this stage that Vālmīki the sage had composed a grand epic with Rāma himself as hero; he taught it to the two princes born in his hermitage and brought up there and educated under him. They, in the guise of two bards, visited the king during the great festival and recited the epic in his presence. Towards the close of

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the recitation, the identity of the two boys was revealed. Sītā was brought back along with the two boys. After the time of Rāma, the elder of the two boys, named Kuśa, ascended the throne. The other son of Rāma was called Lava.

The poem started with an episode describing the circumstances that led to the composition of the poem. Vālmīki's mind was full of thoughts about writing a grand poem. He asked another sage named Nārada, who the hero of such a grand poem could be. He enumerated the qualities which such a hero should possess. After enumerating various qualities like virtue and valour and sense of Law, he closed the enumeration with the quality that when the hero was in a state of fury in a battle, even the gods should quake before him in fear. He wanted a warrior hero with all the good qualities of a great soul and not a mere conqueror. Nārada suggested the name of Rāma himself as the only appropriate hero for such an epic poem. Vālmīki's mind was full of poetry and his mind became poetry itself, so that he could see nothing but a proper theme for poetry in the external world.

He went to the river for his ablutions and there there was a hunter who shot an arrow on a male bird in the company of his mate. The female bird began to wail. This touched the imagination of the Sage and his feelings came out in the form of poetry. The literal meaning of that verse in which his feelings expressed itself is one of curse due to his anger, but there is the suggested and implied meaning of deep pathos, of pity and remorse at the break-up of such a happy union. He saw in that verse some beauty and rhythm, some melody and music, some symmetry and proportion, some sweetness which only the Vedic poetry had possessed before. He was himself amazed. Then the Creator himself appeared before him and narrated the story in outline for him to compose a grand epic poem, and he saw the whole theme as clearly as a berry held in his hand, as a single unity. He knew that he had become a poet and he composed the whole of the poem narrating the events in the life of Rāma up to that point, and then he narrated the rest in future tense as what would happen, since as a poet he could see not only what had already happened but also its conclusion. Without that conclusion there is no completion and unity in the theme, and the completion and unity in theme is the essence of poetry. His disciples learned the poem and had it recited before the hero himself.

As a true poet, following the traditions of the poets of the Vedic age, Vālmīki knew that poetry alone presents the eternal truth, the reality of the world. Kings and conquerors, and prophets and priests see and know and achieve only what are ephemeral. As a

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poet, Vālmīki prophesied that as long as the mountains remain and the rivers flow on this earth, so long will his poetry also continue. No prophesy by another has come out so true as the prophesy of this poet. Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* continues and will ever continue in the world.

The hero of the epic, Rāma, is given there as a divine incarnation, at a time when the world was being afflicted by the enemies of culture. But in the epic he is described as functioning only like a man and not like a god. If Rāma had lived like a god, the whole purpose of the epic would have been frustrated. Man is supreme in the affairs of the world and man works out his destiny; god never interferes with the progress of the world or with the movements of man. If god functions in the world among men, it is only as a man. For this reason, though there is a specific statement that Rāma is god as man, the whole presentation of the story, the entire delineation of the charactear, keeps the man element in the front and the god element is kept in the back-ground.

This divine element in the hero is introduced with a purpose; without that, the epic cannot be complete, cannot serve the purpose of the art. In the *Mahābhārata,* there was Kṛṣṇa, who stood behind the scenes and controlled the movement of the whole story; thereby he guided humanity regarding right conduct for men in the world, how to lead a full life of intense activity and reach the right goal. Here, Rāma, also an incarnation of god, showed by his own life what right conduct for man should be. Veda Vyāsa and various sages came on the scene in the *Mahābhārata,* and here too there are many such sages appearing on the scene. The poet Vālmīki himself, unlike Veda Vyāsa, appears only at the close of the story in the *Rāmāyaṇa.* But Vasiṣṭha, Agastya and many other noted sages appear very prominently here.

It was the sage Vasiṣṭha who instructed Rāma in the use of weapons of war along with instruction in all subjects of an intellectual and emotional character. Viśvāmitra, another sage, also gave him, at a slightly later stage, some instruction in the use of some weapons. At a much later stage, the sage Agastya gave him a divine weapon and also instructions in handling various divine weapons. Rāma lost his throne for some time; he had to go to the forest for some time. But neither renunciation nor life in a forest hermitage was the ideal chosen by the hero. Both in palace and in forest, his life was uniformly active, engaged in showing his martial heroism, not as a conqueror but as the protector of humanity against evil. He was never an aggressor. He never surrendered.

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Like the *Mahābhārata,* the *Rāmāyaṇa* too is a Nature poem. We seldom see the hero in the palace. The important part of the epic consists of the narration of the story of the hero outside the palace, in adventures; but he was all along in the midst of Nature. Bow and arrows and valour was mixed up with mountains and rivers, trees and forests and creepers and flowers, animals and birds, seasons and the various luminaries—sun and moon and stars, dawn and sun-set, hot noon and dark midnight. The hero was a great man, great in valour and great in appreciation of the beauties of Nature. Forest life was never a suffering to him, not that he considered it as a door for escape from the sins of this world, but that he was in tune with the surroundings that were beautiful, appealing to the heart of a man with imagination and with a sense of art. In the early morning with its chill the hero enjoys the beauty of the lake in which he goes for his morning bath. During his separation from his consort, he finds beauty in the seasons and enjoys such beauty. Even sufferings become a source of joy to one who finds beauty in this world.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is much shorter than the *Mahābhārata.* It is only about a fourth of the *Mahābhārata.* It is divided into six Books, with a supplement. From the birth up to the victory over the enemy, Rāvaṇa, and return to the capital and coronation, form the main text. The gossips about the possible stain on the character of the heroine during her stay in the enemy's control, the abandonment of the heroine, the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and its recitation by the two sons of the hero before the king and the final identification of the twins and return of the heroine form the main story of the supplement.

The metres employed in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are identical with the metres used in the *Mahābhārata,* namely, verses of four lines each with eight syllables. Each Book is divided into many cantos and the cantos end with a new metre. One finds the same simplicity and lucidity of the language, the same rhythm and cadence, the same elegance of style, the same ornamentation in language and expression, which one finds in the *Mahābhārata.* It is a first class poetic art, known as "the first poem." This is true of it in point of merit. After the poetry of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda,* the language has not seen a poet of the calibre of *Vālmīki.* The *Mahābhārata* is the only other work of the post-Vedic age that can be placed by the side of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Both are more or less contemporaneous. The exact date cannot be determined. It must be during the age of revival of the Vedic culture after some set-back, which may have been only a potential danger which did not really break the continuity

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of the Vedic currents, which could only threaten such a break. Just as many great poets appeared who started the Vedic civilization, at that time also, many great poets made their appearance for the preservation of the Vedic culture, and one of them is Vālmīki, the other being Veda Vyāsa. There must have been many others.

The epic is given as contemporaneous with the events. Vālmīki is the author. This is only the chronology of the literary critics and not of the historians. There must have been some great poet contemporaneous with the hero and he must have left behind him some great poems describing the events of his time, in which he himself took some part. That tradition must have continued; when the present epic was composed with that same theme, the epic was given out as the composition of the original poet. According to tradition, the events of the *Rāmāyaṇa* took place many millenniums prior to the events of the *Mahābhārata;* it cannot be that the epic that we have was the composition of that past age. We do not know who the real author was. If Vālmīki is the real author of the epic, he was not a contemporary of the hero; if Vālmīki is a contemporary of the events, he is not the author of the epic that we have. The chronological associations of the epic with Vālmīki and the events of the epic is only the poet's association and not a historical fact.

The *Mahābhārata* is in the form of a dialogue. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is a pure narration. Statements like "Thus said Rāma" and "Thus said Vasiṣṭha" do not appear between verses; they are all included in the poetic narration. Yet the dramatic touch and the realistic colour are there. For one thing, the proportion of external matter to the main story is much smaller than in the *Mahābhārata.* So the main story is never missed from the readers' view on account of such external matter. Further, there are always the characters introduced, and the story moves through dialogue between the characters. The difference between the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* is only one of technique, and not in artistic value.

(iv) THE PURANAS

The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* form a group, and they are designated *Itihāsas.* There is a central theme in both, and all other matter is brought round this central theme by the poet. In the *Mahābhārata* there is the story of the five brothers, assisted by Kṛṣṇa, their adventures and their final triumph. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* there is the story of Rāma and his adventures and his final triumph. But there are many other long poems of the same type which do not have any such central theme. They are all known as *Purāṇas,* "Ancient Lore". The word means only "what is ancient".

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The *Rāmāyaṇa* was sung by the disciples of the author, the sons of the hero, in his presence during a great festivity. The *Mahābhārata* was sung by the disciple of the poet in the presence of the great-grand-son of one of the five brothers, the heroes, during a great festivity. But here, there is one more step, what is not found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Mahābhārata* as it was recited by the disciple of the poet, was again recited by a bard who was present at that recitation, before the sages assembled in the Naimiśa Forest. The *Purāṇas* have also a similar association with a bard and the sages and the forest. In that way, there is another classification possible, the *Rāmāyaṇa* being one and the *Mahābhārata* along with the *Purāṇas* being the other. It may even be said that the *Purāṇas* are supplements or extensions of the *Mahābhārata*. All the *Purāṇas* are also the work of the same author who is the author of the *Mahābhārata* too, the great poet Veda Vyāsa. All that it means is that the *Purāṇas* present the teachings of Veda Vyāsa.

The entire material that is contained in the *Purāṇas* is found in the two *Itihāsas*, and the material found in the *Itihāsas* is found in the *Purāṇas*. The difference is in the form which the material assumed in the presentation of the theme. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, there is the central core of a main story around which the material generally found in the *Purāṇas* is brought in. In the *Purāṇas*, the central core of the *Itihāsas* is introduced in the midst of the main theme. In the *Mahābhārata*, the main story is, in comparison with the additional matter brought round it, very small; but in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the central story has relatively a bigger size. In the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the tales of the great heroes form the main theme, and in the *Purāṇas*, the culture of the ancient times forms the main theme. In the former, the culture is held together by the main story, while in the latter, the story is contained in the presentation of the culture.

By culture I mean the entire stock of intellectual and artistic achievements of the people. This includes also the civilization, the practical attainments of the people. The purpose of the *Itihāsas* and of the *Purāṇas* is to present the entire culture and civilization of the ancient people, as a contrast to the new line of thought and of life that was being introduced into the country and that was getting stronger and stronger among the people. The new lines of thought and of life were known to the people from the sermons of priests and the edicts of kings, and the poets presented the culture and civilization of ancient times. The result was that the poets won a decisive victory over the priests and kings.

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The revival movement found reflected in the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas* is neither fanatic adherence to the old nor an unscrupulous attack on the new modes of beliefs and conduct preached by priests and patronised by kings. The Indian mind has ever been realistic and practical. There were changes, and what had changed could not revert to the old mould. The revival movement was one of adjustment, of assimilation and adaptation. The new beliefs and the new codes of conduct were brought into the old moulds and there arose a harmonious culture, in which the new form and material and the old spirit were amalgamated.

Though, in content, the *Purāṇas* appear to be a supplement to the *Mahābhārata*, the *Mahābhārata* presupposes *Purāṇas*. We do not know which are the *Purāṇas* thus presupposed by the *Mahābhārata*. One of the *Purāṇas*, named the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, is mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa* supplement of the *Mahābhārata*, and elsewhere in the body of the *Mahābhārata*, a *Purāṇa* spoken by Vāyu (the Wind God) is alluded to. The *Mahābhārata*, as the text now stands, contains an enumeration of all the *Purāṇas* according to the traditional enumeration. The *Mahābhārata* was recited in the presence of the sages assembled in the Naimiśa Forest by a bard whose name was Ugraśravas. Śaunaka, the leader of the sages, greets that bard with words of welcome, saying that his father, Lomaharṣaṇa, had been reciting various *Purāṇas* in their presence. As a matter of fact, some of the *Purāṇas* are given as having been recited by that very bard, Lomaharṣana, father of the bard Ugraśravas who recited the *Mahābhārata*. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of itself as a *Purāṇa*; many events and episodes contained in it are spoken of as having been well-known in the *Purāṇas* and many parts of the *Mahābhārata* are also spoken of as *Purāṇas*. The *Purāṇas* also enumerate all the *Purāṇas*, eighteen in number.

The *Purāṇas* give the dynasties of kings. Usually they are all the mythological dynasties before the time which comes within history. When we come to the historical period, which starts with the time of Buddha about 500 B.C., it is noted that the enumeration stops with the Gupta dynasty, and nothing is known after about 500 A.D. Names of kings that are famous in history are mentioned in such dynastical lists; but famous kings after 500 A.D. are not found mentioned, names like Harṣa of Kanauj in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. After the enumeration of the dynasties and of the kings known in history, there is a prophecy of a coming decadence in the culture of India under wicked kings, like the Mlecchas (really those who do not speak good language), Yavanas (Greeks), Śakas, Tuṣāras, Hūṇas and so on. By Mlecchas, they meant perhaps Indians

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themselves who did not speak Sanskrit or foreigners on the border who spoke another language. Yavanas are identified with Ionians. Śakas or Scythians and Hūṇas or Huns are well-known in Indian history. Certainly Greeks and Scythians and Huns were in India long prior to the time of the Guptas in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Greeks and Scythians had been absorbed into the Indian nationality prior to the time of the Guptas. The Huns had finally disappeared as an invading tribe during and soon after the Gupta period, and got merged into the nation.

Many of the texts belonging to the Northern Buddhism and many texts belonging to the Jain religion bear strong resemblance to the *Purāṇas* in content and form. Many Jain works are known as *Purāṇas*. Some Buddhistic works are also known as *Purāṇas*, like the *Lalitavistara*. Great authors in Sanskrit belonging to the centuries after the fifth are very familiar with the *Purāṇa* literature.

The probability is that the *Purāṇas* are contemporaneous with the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa;* they were composed by the great poets who flourished in India after the period of decadence in the latter part of the Maurya Dynasty, during the second half of the third century and the beginning of the second century. B.C. At that time there was a revival of the Vedic culture starting with the reign of Puṣyamitra, who removed the last king of the Mauryas and proclaimed himself as ruler. Certainly there must have been slight revisions and redactions; the *Purāṇas*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, must have been unified into a single literary whole, just as the *Vedas* had been so done at an earlier stage. The *Purāṇas* start the second period of the glorious age of Indian civilization after the appearance of signs of decay, the first period being represented by the *Vedas*.

It is not at all accurate to say that the *Purāṇas* and the *Itihāsas* are religious texts. There is religion; but whatever has a religious element is not a religious text. No one will say that Dante's *Inferno* is a religious text; no one will say that the *Illiad* of Homer is a religious text. Is Milton's *Paradise Lost* a religious text? Do they not have, all of them, a religious element in content? Does not Milton specifically say that he was showing the "Ways of God to Man" in his Epic? And yet no critic has asserted that the *Paradise Lost* is a religious text. The *Purāṇa* texts are poetry, with sometimes a religious theme. There are many portions in the *Purāṇas* that have nothing to do with religion. There are descriptions of geography, literature and art and various other such subjects. Along with them, religious topics are also introduced into the poetry. But the texts are essentially poetry of a high order of great artistic merit. They

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were meant as poetic art. If the purpose had been to present religious teachings, why should there be so many texts? It is poets who present the same topic in different ways, the individuality being in the art. The nation could appreciate a subject only when the subject was presented as art: a dry sermon would have had no effect on the Indian nation. The *Purāṇas* and the *Itihāsas* influenced the people and moulded the life of the people, because they were poetry. If they had been religious texts, they would have disappeared from the country long ago, without being cared for by any one.

It is not also correct to say that the *Purāṇas* were written to please the kings. If the kings would have been pleased with hearing the glories of their ancestors and of ancient kings sung in poetry, then such songs would have had as their theme the glories of kings sitting on the throne with their imperial pomp and military powers and all the paraphernalia of royalty. But that is not what is found in the *Purāṇas*. All the great kings like Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira and Nala are found in the forest as exiles. Is that what would have pleased the kings? The real object of the *Purāṇas* is to show that if a king is honoured it is simply because the king happens to be a great man, and a great man is great both as a king on the throne and as an exile in the forests. The palaces and the military and the ministers are all conspicuous by their insignificance in the *Purāṇas*; it is the common people and the scholars and the poets who surround the kings. If the *Purāṇas* had simply glorified the kings, they would have vanished from the language and there would have been no trace of them in the country in the present age. They are still a powerful factor in the life of the people, as they had ever been, because they glorify man's greatness as man. The spirit of the *Vedas* continued; the environment had changed. So the poets interpreted the Vedic culture in a way that it would be harmonious with the new surroundings. That is what is found in the *Purāṇas* and in the *Itihāsas*.

There are eighteen *Purāṇas* recognised. They are all in the form of poetry. Some of them have occasional prose portions coming within. The metres found are exactly those found in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. All the verses have four lines and in the majority of cases the lines have eight syllables. But there is no monotony in metre in the *Purāṇas;* just as in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Rāmāyaṇa,* there are frequent changes into metres with lines longer than eight syllables. Such a variation breaks the possible monotony which would have been an inevitable factor in poetry, if there had been only one metre. The change of metres is also adapted to the changes in the contexts, the metres fitting into the

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situations. Such a change in metre is what is not found in the epics in other languages, starting from Homer. Further in the metres found in Sanskrit, there is no monotonous repetition of the same combination of syllables to form a "Foot" within a line. A line is the metrical unit. The lines can be formed by an infinite variety of combinations of syllables.

Anything that can be thought of as a constituent of poetry is found in the *Purāṇas,* as in the two *Itihāsas.* There are many fascinating stories about great heroes, in which many attractive women also find a very prominent place. There are also many charming fables in the *Purāṇas.* Intellectualism presented in artistic form and art presented with an intellectual coating make the *Purāṇas* both interesting and illuminative. Nature and common people are everywhere, and gods and other super-human beings move freely among men. Heaven is brought into a unit with the earth; the natural and the supernatural are both welded together. There is a happy admixture of realism and romanticism, so that we are never in the commonplace of the world nor in an ecstasy of unrealistic supernaturalism. The world is presented as it should be, as it presents itself to the vision of poets. Religion is softened by what is enjoyable, and the enjoyment is ennobled by religion and a high moral tone. There is a high purpose, without materialistic utilitarianism. Various subjects are dealt with, being properly and naturally introduced into a variety of situations and contexts, and they all become suitable factors in high-class poetry.

The *Purāṇas* are no more sectarian than the *Itihāsas.* They cannot be so since they are not religious texts; it is only within religious books that there can be sectarian differences and biases and conflicts. They deal with various gods and if there is prominence to any particular god or to any particular form of worship, there is no condemnation of other gods or other forms of worship, nor any strained defence of any particular god and form of worship. In the Indian religious tradition that developed during the period of the revival of the Vedic culture, it is the God Viṣṇu that is accepted as coming down to the earth as man to defend culture and moral principles in life. The Goddess also comes down to the earth as the consort of the Incarnation of Viṣṇu in such cases. But the God Śiva remained ever a God and protected culture and moral principles as a God without assuming a human form. So is the Goddess in Her exalted state as different from Her state as the God's consort. Thus, when God is introduced as man on earth, the God Viṣṇu comes into greater prominence. This is neither sectarianism nor fanaticism. The sectarian basis was adopted for the classification

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of the *Purāṇas* only on account of deforming what was good poetry into religious texts, which latter was never within the scope of the intention of the poets who composed the *Purāṇas*. Religion at that time was national and never sectarian, and sectarian religions found a place in Indian life only during the last one thousand years when there was a national decadence and when foreigners came to the country and remained isolated without being absorbed into the nation as was the case previously, and influenced the course of events in the country.

It is not possible to give any idea of the *Purāṇas* individually in such a presentation of Sanskrit Literature. Only some specimens can be described and the specimens are described in the form of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the two great *Itihāsas* of Sanskrit. The contents of the two *Itihāsas* became the store-house from which the poets of a later period could freely draw materials for their art; in this way also, the *Purāṇas* bear a close resemblance to the two *Itihāsas*, being such a rich store-house of material for the poets of the later age. All the eighteen *Purāṇas* along with the two *Itihāsas* were, and continue and will ever remain, first-class poetry, presenting the genius, the culture and the civilization of the nation, and also became the inspiration for later poets.

Many more works were written at later times, and many of them were incorporated into the *Purāṇas* or were kept separate as subsidiary *Purāṇas* (*Upapurāṇas*). Many of them deal with the history of various important places, known as Local (*Sthala*) *Purāṇas*. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were rendered into the various regional languages of India at different times by the great poets in those languages, and in the same way, the *Purāṇas* also contributed much to the development of literature in the regional languages. This immense literature consisting of the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas* held the nation together, resisting the tendencies for separation and even disruption on account of geographical distances, introduction of new religious beliefs and practices, presence of different races in the country and the incursion of foreign tribes into the country, and also the development of many regional languages into literary languages. It is no wonder that the *Vedas* and the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas* are worshipped by the nation as the path for salvation. These specimens of poetry and their poets were the real saviours of the country from utter ruin.

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IV. THE CLASSICAL AGE

A great change came over the conditions in India from the Vedic Age to the Later Age, which may be termed the Classical Age. I select this term on the basis of the two phases of the Sanskrit Language designated respectively in modern times as the Vedic Language and the Classical Language. In the Vedic age, there had been other nations along the borders of the country where the Vedic culture developed. They had been coming into the country and trying to influence the life of the people. They did not observe the religious rituals of the Vedic people and were in most cases even enemies of such ritualism. They had their own languages also. Some Dravidian element in the Vedic language has been recognised by all scholars. The system of sounds in the Sanskrit language had changed, perhaps, on account of this contact with the Dravidian language. Some words also, current in the Dravidian, are found in the *Vedas*, which cannot be original words in the languages. There are many personal names, found as names of authors of poems and also as names of the enemies of the people, that appear to be Dravidian. Such names of poets are found predominently in the eighth Book of the *Ṛgveda*. The metrical device of combining two verses in different metres into a single unit, known as the *Pragāthas* (Superior songs), are also found predominently in this Book of the *Ṛgveda*, and may be a device adopted and adapted from the Dravidian literature.

In course of time, this foreign element in the nation was becoming stronger and stronger. New currents of philosophical thought, new outlooks on the problems of life, new modes of religious rituals and religious festivals and various other factors began to produce changes in the entire life of the nation. The language too changed. Sanskrit was spoken by people whose mother-tongue was different, and Sanskrit came into close contact with the languages of other peoples. In this way the grammatical structure and the vocabulary of the language changed considerably. Old words were dropped and new words were introduced. Many grammatical forms dropped out and new formations, new structure of sentences and new idioms made their appearance in the language. Still the language kept up its individuality. Those who know the later language can understand the language of the *Vedas* fairly well.

The language in which the *Vedas* were written must have been the language known to the people and spoken by the people. There

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might have been some gradation in the purity and in the stylish elegance in the language starting from what is used in poetry to what is spoken by the people at home and in their everyday life. The literature itself preserves certain indications of such a gradation in the language, a difference between literary and colloquial language current at that time. If the language had been what was known only to the learned people and used only for religious and philosophical and other intellectual purposes, the language would not have undergone the changes that are found in the language as between the Vedic Age and the Classical Age. If the language of the common people had been different from the language of the learned people so far as their life of learning and erudition are concerned, the position should have been that a popular language would have developed different from the language of the learned people, the latter remaining stationary. The fact that in spite of such a great change in the environment, the change in the language has been so slight, as is found between the Vedic language and the Classical language, shows that there must have been a widely spread-out system of education which came down to the lower strata of social organisation, coming from those who took up learned pursuits to those who took to vocations of artisans. This also shows that the foreign elements that came into the nation that spoke the language and got absorbed into it, got assimilated into their system. There must have been that vitality and solidarity in the build of the nation. The spirit of the literature in the language continued in this change from the Vedic to the Classical Age.

There were many other changes. But there was no item of change which caused a break-away from the root, which brought about a break-up in the continuity of the culture. Everywhere it was only an adaptation to the new environments, an assimilation of the foreign element into the system. The new literature that is known as the Classical Literature in Sanskrit presented the old genius of the people in the new environment, adapted to the new surroundings. It is the priests and the kings who cannot adapt themselves and their views to changing circumstances. But the genius of the poets is to adapt themselves to the changing situations. So the nation guided and controlled by the poets and the culture developed by the poets continued in the country without a break, quite in harmony with the new situations. There was no social revolution; there was no religious feud. There were only differences and never a conflict among the differing elements.

The Vedic gods re-appeared in the new environment. There were changes. Some of them also disappeared, and new gods came into the field. Indra, the national hero and the warrior god of the

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Vedas, came down to a subordinate position as the crowned king of the Heaven living a life of enjoyment in the company of the celestial damsels, a fond husband for his consort, Śacī or Indrāṇī. He was harassed by the demons and he had to resort to the protection of the great God or to the help of kings on earth. All exploits associated with him during the Vedic Age remained in the memory of the people on account of his many names preserved from the Vedic Age. Viṣṇu, the Supreme God who traversed the whole world with three strides, but who never killed a demon so far as the Vedic literature goes, retained his position as the Supreme God with his abode in the highest and farthest position, and at the same time he took up the position of the Vedic Indra, as the destroyer of the demons, assuming various forms, known as Incarnations. In Himself, He was the Supreme God, but as Incarnations, he became a great Warrior, the national Hero. It is not that there is no evidence of His heroic nature in Himself and that His heroic nature is confined to His Incarnations. He is known as wielding a disc which is the terror of the demons and also as holding a club. He has also His bow. But most of His martial exploits are related to His form as Incarnations. Varuṇa, the Vedic god of majestic grandeur, the wisest god, who encompassed the whole universe by his majestic presence, became the ruler of the western quarters of the world, as lord of the ocean. Yama, who had the great Illumination, who for the first time saw the Path, who went to the other world and became king there, turned out to be the king of Hell. Maruts and Ṛbhus, groups of gods in the *Vedas,* ceased to be separate gods, and the names became synonymous with the names of gods, in general. Aśvins, the twin gods, practically went into oblivion.

The Vedic gods continued in spirit. The Indians could not surrender to any ascetic god with scanty robes, cut off from the normal life of the people. They wanted their gods to be the symbols of their ideals of a full life, with heroism, with martial valour, leading a householder's life in a home of plenty. As in the case of the Vedic gods, there is no god of the Classical Age who did not have his own weapon, who did not have his consort, who did not have his family life. They all wore ornaments and rich robes. They lived in luxurious palaces. They had their consorts. They had their family life. The poets made them quite human, with all the feelings of the common man, with love for the women and with jealousies evoked between their co-wives, with most of the common frailties of the common man like an occasional falsehood in statements and out-of-the-way dealings in their conduct. The poets could never think of gods as anything other than men. They were freely brought in as theme for love poetry, they were brought in as characters in dramas on the

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stage, and in all such cases the gods were no better than the common man. Viṣṇu, and Śiva, the greatest of the gods, and the Incarnations of Viṣṇu, formed the familiar theme for many a poem in Sanskrit. In any other country, the poets would have been persecuted for going against the sanctity of religion in depicting gods in such a way in poetry and drama. But there were no priests and there were no fanatic kings patronising the priests and their Church and their religion, who would persecute the poets for their infidelity towards the established religion. The poets dominated the nation and the poets were the defenders of freedom in thought and expression and of equality. Gods had no place in the world unless they could move freely with men; that was the religion and the philosophy of the poets.

Heroism formed the chief note in the poetry of the Vedic Age. Love came in only as a secondary factor. As a matter fact we see little in the *Vedas* that can be classed as love poetry. Men and women and their mutual relations, in which love played an important part, formed only the back-ground of Vedic poetry and not the main theme; perhaps there was also love poetry which is not preserved from that age. In the Classical Age, the two traits continued, but the gradation of importance was reversed; love became the chief note and heroism came second in importance, in the Classical poetry. There was calmness, serenity, as an ornament of love and heroism and not the chief trait in the gods, and also in men, in the Classical Age. Śiva the Great God, was both a hero and a lover. Viṣṇu was also the same, and his incarnations represented heroism and love. There is mention of his ten incarnations. In a few of them, there was heroism to restore the culture of the people and in some others, there was heroism to destroy the demons. The first five were of a temporary nature for a specific purpose. Then we find incarnations that continued in the world for the full span of life allotted to man. In one of them there was only heroism, to put down the wicked kings who were the enemies of culture, and in the two that followed, there was both heroism and love. They are Śrī Rāma and Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

The Indian genius cannot, and did not, tolerate grim gods without a consort and without a home life and without human traits. The Indian genius could not, and did not, take orders from an ascetic teacher. The Indians recognised only such gods and such teachers who had human traits. The nation could not also recognise a single individual as superior to all others, the One Man, appearing in the world only once and giving orders to humanity about good life as command of God, for the first time. How could the

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nation believe that good life started only at a particular time in recent years, when they had the lore and tradition going back to an infinite past, recording the glories and achievements of their ancestors? They could not ignore such traditions, they could not discard them as superstitions. Poets could find no theme for poetry in the new environments and the nation would not listen to the sermons of priests and the edicts of kings; they wanted only the poetry of the wise people. So the gods and the ancient heroes and the glories and the achievements of the ancestors came back again into the life of the nation, which provided appropriate theme for the poetry of the new line of poets.

The Ṛṣis of the *Vedas* had been replaced by the new form of ascetics as teachers of the nation. The Ṛṣis of the *Vedas* were only the common people living the normal life of the people, endowed with transcendental vision and super-normal command of language, who could present in poetry what they experienced in their vision. In their private life they were the ordinary people living in a normal home. But the New Order of ascetics had come to stay; they could not be eliminated from the nation. The only thing to be done by the poets was to make them also human in their traits. They continued to live in the thatched sheds in the forests, wearing only rough loincloths made of tree-barks, growing a matted hair, emaciated in their physical form, living on roots and fruits gathered from the forests. But they chose such a life of theirs on their own accord. They never formed themselves into a new Order into which the lay men were converted and thereby shown the way to an escape from this world of sin and suffering. On the other hand they pressed the common people to keep on in the world and never to neglect the world. They helped them and encouraged them in their life of heroism; they rendered them all assistance in their normal life in a family, to secure a suitable mate in life and to lead a happy life in their homes. That is what we find in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Mahābhārata* and in all the specimens of poetry during this age. As a matter of fact, some of them were subject to the physical passions and became fathers of children through some temporary union with women. Many of them lived in their forest settlements as householders and they were fathers of children.

Such ascetics with their peculiar robes and peculiar physical make-up and daily habits and ways of life could not be dispensed with by any one who knew the reality of the situation at that time in India. They had become an established fact in the country. But their spirit could be changed by the poets, and people could accept them in their new presentation, following the ancient path. They

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followed the Vedic rituals, kindling Fire and making offerings in the Fire to the various gods of the *Vedas*. But they ceased to be the Missionaries of any particular faith, preachers of religious sects, converting people and admitting them into any Order. Kings entertained them as advisors on secular matters, and the people honoured them as safe guides in their normal life. They helped and guided the people in their normal life, in their full life, as citizens of the country, living a life of usefulness and realistic purposes. They counselled the kings to remain on the throne, use their heroism and valour for the defence of man's rights and to secure happiness for the people. This is what we find in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Mahābhārata* and in all the *Purāṇas*. The ascetics became the leaders and guides in a renascent civilization, defenders of realistic purposefulness in life along the path of old, revived from slumber by them.

The dramatists of the Classical Age went a step further. Women had been joining the Monastic Orders; Buddha himself was rather pessimistic about the consequences of admitting women into the Order. But the current could not be stopped. The dramatists brought them on the stage. Their robes and their physical make-up and their ways of life could not be altered; but their role in society could be changed. Both Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, two in the forefront of great dramatists of India, made them the agents for bringing about the union of the heroine with the hero. The women members of the Monastic Order were companions of the heroine in the dramas of both, elder companions whom the heroines respected and followed. The women members of the Monastic Order actively engaged themselves in bringing about the union and used all their prestige and influence for that purpose. This is altering the role of the members of the Monastic Order with a vengeance even.

During this transition period, a new factor, known now as Caste System, was creeping into the life of the nation. In the Vedic Age, there was no such Caste distinction among the people. There was a division of vocations; but the people were united as a solid nation, choosing the vocation they liked. Their civic life and their civic rights were uniform. But slowly the people who led a peculiar life with their own robes and physical make-up and food habits increased in number and in consequent influence. They were patronised by kings, and the kings thus became a separate class. Such people with this peculiar mode of life were also assisted by the wealthy people and they too were able to form themselves into a separate group. In this way, the nation began to be divided into groups and their civic solidarity began to get loosened. The learned class (Brahmins), the military class (the Kṣatriyas), the business class with wealth (Vaiśyas) and the ordinary people with their

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various avocations as artisans and manual labourers (Śūdras) formed the four classes. Then there were the hunters and other tribes mostly living in forests, who formed themselves into the fifth class (Niṣādas).

The poets of the Classical period, when the old Vedic order of the solid social organisation in the civic life of the nation was being revived, ignored such hard and fast lines of demarcation; they could not eliminate the demarcation. But they could open up valves for the free flow of ways of life between caste and caste. Members of the Brahmin class with their learning, were presented as warriors. In some cases they were presented as businessmen engaged in commerce. Kṣatriyas or the members of the warrior class reappeared as scholars. Members of the other classes were also admitted into the councils of the nation as proficient in all subjects, who could even surpass the members of the learned class in erudition and wisdom. Caste system was introduced by the priests and the kings, who did not form any important element in the national life according to ancient tradition, and in the Classical Age, when poets again had their position of honour in the nation, this classification was again loosened, though it could not be wiped out.

In the Vedic age, women held a very prominent and honoured position in the national life. No one was eligible for any relgious ritual prescribed in the *Vedas*, which means not eligible for a full citizenship, unless he had married and had a son. Women began to be degraded in the estimation of the people by priests who started condemning the women as seats of sin and as the source of suffering for humanity; abstinence from the life of a householder, avoidance of women was glorified as the noblest and most sacred form of life and as the only path to the final release of the individual from the sufferings of life. Women, on their part, began to be admitted into the Religious Orders where the life of a householder was prohibited.

In the Classical period, women were again given their position of prominence and honour. Gods reappeared with their consorts; ascetics too appeared with their family life. Women in all grades of life came on the scene as contributing to the full life of the people. They were given back their freedom. They could freely appear in public and function freely in the civic life; there was no stigma attached to them as seats of sin and as sources of suffering for men, who alone counted as true citizens during the transition stage. They again became wise and learned, discussng deep problems of ethics and philosophy in the assembly of the learned people, equal to them and even surpassing them at times. They also regained

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their martial traditions from the Vedic age, lost to them during the transition stage. There is no literature in the world where we can come across such a large number of women characters as is met with in the Classical period of Sanskrit literature, representing various gradations in the social organisation.

The stage was set again for the revival of the poets as the most important element in the life of the nation; they managed to revive the ancient traditions and they reaped the fruits of their labours. The air became conducive to the growth of poetry and, in the changed air, poetry began to grow and provide a rich harvest. The greatest benefit which the nation secured from this revival of the poets' influence and control in the life of the nation is that it avoided a civil war and also a religious feud. If kings and priests had been in charge of the affairs of the nation, a phenomenon like two great nations, the Vedic people in the north, and the people of the south of India known as the Dravidians with their ancient culture, coming together into amicable relations, in spite of their difference in origin and cultural developments, would have been impossible. The Dravidians too have a tradition of poetry and culture, and the Dravidian language has influenced the growth of the Vedic literature; perhaps Dravidian people also contributed to the wealth of the Vedic literature. They merged themselves into a common nation.

A new religion arose in the country and became very popular, with the patronage of the kings. But there arose no sort of feud between the followers of the old order and the followers of the new order. There was no persecution of the new religion, and the followers of the new religion suffered no disability either in following their religion or in preaching and spreading their religion. The poets who followed the ancient path absorbed the followers of the new path. Their differences remained mere differences and never deteriorated into open conflict. The difference contributed to a new wealth of culture in the country. This is what is spoken of as the exile of the new religion and the refuge and growth which that religion enjoyed in countries outside India; the true fact is that the new religion was amalgamated into the old religion, and a new religion arose in the country, where the old religion remained in spirit and where the new forms found a prominent place.

Various new factors came into the constitution of this Classical Culture of the country. There arose some new environments for the kings. There were kings in the Vedic Age; they were consecrated as kings at a ceremony. There must have been kings and emperors; kings performed some rituals, the *Rājasūya* sacrifice, and the emperors performed another ritual, the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.

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Both are described in the Vedic literature. There are also the terms *Rājā* or king and *Sāmrāj* or emperor in the *Vedas*. At that time they represented only some cultural unity among the people in a State and among the various States forming an Empire. The king or the emperor had little of a political colour. They were only ordinary citizens performing some specific functions. But later we find that they wore a crown, sat on a throne and had the paraphernalia of royal pomp in the form of guards and other attendants, some waving fans before the kings and the emperors. They had also an umbrella held over them when they sat on the throne. This symbol of royalty and imperialism is not a Vedic feature. Such an absence of the symbol of royal and imperial pomp continued in one part of India, in the South-west, where till very recent times no king had a crown and a throne and the fans and the umbrella as symbols of their position. It was the Portuguese and the Dutch that gave the kings in the South-west of India a headgear. No palace in the South-west of India has any remnant of a throne or an umbrella or fans. They lived like the ordinary citizens.

Another feature that came into the life of the nation is that gods and kings started some banner emblem. The *Vedas* speak of certain vehicles on which they rode, besides their chariots. Thus, the Aśvins, the twin-gods, had the donkey as their vehicle, besides their chariot of three wheels. It is not clear whether the gods actually rode an animal; it is more likely that they engaged animals other than horses to draw their chariots. There is reference to the banner, there being the word *Ketu* (what indicates). But there is no reference to a banner-staff on the chariots and an emblem on the banner, just as there is no reference to a crown worn by the gods on their head. But in the Classical Age, gods have a banner emblem and the banner emblem is identical with the vehicle they used. Thus, the Great God Viṣṇu, had the kite as his banner emblem and also as his vehicle; he is described as riding on a kite and not moving about in a chariot. The other Great God, Śiva, had a bull as his banner emblem and as his vehicle and he rode on the bull. Brahmā, the Creator had a swan. The Goddess Durgā had a tiger. The Elephant God Gaṇeśa had a rat and his brother Subrahmaṇya had a peacock, both being sons of Śiva. Kings too had such banner emblems on their chariots, though they did not ride on the vehicle representing the emblem. Thus in the *Mahābhārata*, Arjuna, one of the five brothers who ultimately triumphed after the war, had the Monkey God Hanūmān on his chariot, and his rival Suyodhana had a serpent. But they never rode on a monkey or on a serpent, as did the gods. Kings always went about in chariots, as did the Vedic people. Even though the gods were presented as riding ani-

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mals in the Classical Age, the kings continued the Vedic custom of riding only in chariots, and it is only at a very late stage that kings began to ride a horse, so far as our literary evidence of the Classical Age goes.

Some new specimens of beings and some new estimates about the life of man also made their appearance in the country. In the *Vedas*, we find very little of a "Monster". There are men and also gods in human form, with a head and two hands and two legs and a body. But when we come to the Classical Age, we find that there are beings who are half man and half animal, also beings with more than two hands and more than one head. One of the Incarnations of the Great God Viṣṇu is half man and half lion. The god Gaṇeśa had the head of an elephant on a man's body, with ten hands. The Great God Viṣṇu has four hands, bearing with them a disc, a club, a conch-shell and a lotus. The god Subrahmaṇya is serpent-shaped with six heads. The Serpent Ananta, also known as Śeṣa, has a thousand hoods. The enemy of Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, named Rāvaṇa, has ten heads and twenty eyes and twenty arms. The god Brahmā has four faces. Indra, the warrior god of the *Vedas*, who became the king of the gods in heaven, has a thousand eyes.

The demons of the *Vedas*, the Asuras, have only a human form; there is no indication of their being monsters in their constitution and being terrible in looks. They have, in the Classical Age, huge bodies of immense size, both in girth and height, with teeth projecting from their mouths. They kill and eat men, a feature not known in the *Vedas*. They must be foreign. Yet they were adopted into the Indian home and also adapted to the new atmosphere. They became the descendents of the same ancestor from whom the gods also originated, the gods being the sons of one mother and the demons being the sons of her rival. Their nature was different, but their destination was the same, heaven, in the end. Even the demons were not condemned to eternal purgatory by the Indian poets.

In the *Vedas*, men lived for a hundred years, this being the span of life allotted to them. There are frequent prayers found in the *Vedas* that one may go through the entire span of life and that no part if his life span may be taken away from him. This span of life is also definitely spoken of as a hundred years, and sometimes it is mentioned as the life span allotted by gods. When we come to the Classical Age, we find that men are spoken of as living for thousands of years and even tens of thousands of years. The year becomes too short a measure to determine time and they speak in terms of higher units like *Yugas* (Ages) divided into four as *Kali*, *Dvāpara*, *Treta* and *Kṛta;* the first is the shortest and the fourth

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is the longest. Virtues also decline from the fourth to the first, in the world among men. They speak of *Kalpas,* combinations of these four *Yugas,* and Manu Periods which are much longer. They also distinguish between human years and divine years. The life span of the world is calculated as fourteen Manu Periods, each one being millions over millions of years and it is also stated that we are now in the middle of the seventh of such Manu Periods.

In the *Purāṇas,* when we come to the conditions in what is called the historical period, that is when we come to the *Kali* Age among the four *Yugas,* it is found that men have only the span of life mentioned in the *Vedas,* the normal length of life. Like the Monsters, the abnormal length of the life span also must be an importation from a foreign civilization. It is noted that according to the traditions preserved in Iran, as recorded by Firdousi in his *Shahnāmeh,* where the material was supplied by the Pahlavi literature, now lost to us, the early kings of Iran lived and ruled the country for some centuries, until we come to the historical age. In the *Shahnāmeh* we find also the mention of a Monster King, *Sehak* who followed Jamshid on the throne; this king had two dragons on his two shoulders. It is also said that he went to India to consult some magicians who could cure him of this monstrosity.

It is not meant here that during the Classical Age, the actual state of affairs had changed into this, in the country. The change is only in the lore and tradition. Certainly, the country did not experience the presence of Monsters nor did men live for such abnormal length of time. Many other features found in the Classical lore and not found in the *Vedas,* are only in the beliefs of the people at that time. Thus, there were no ascetics who had taken up their abodes in the forests and who wore robes made of tree barks. They are all certain views that had been developing in the country, readapted to the Vedic environment. It is only the content of the Classical literature that changed and not the actual ways of life in the country.

Along with the changes in the nature of life as described in the Classical literature, there grew up great changes in the powers of man also, as found in the Classical literature. The powers of the *Mantras* or magical spells attained great prominence. Men used not only ordinary weapons in warfare but also some divine missiles. There are various such missiles mentioned in the Classical literature, bearing the names of the various gods like Agni (Fire), Varuṇa (Lord of the ocean), Paśupati (relating to Śiva, the Great God), Nārāyaṇa (the other great God), Brahmā (relating to the Creator) and so on. With such missiles, they could produce a conflagration

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or completely destroy an army; it is also claimed that if two of some of such missiles meet, when discharged from opposite sides, the world will come to an end. It is also said that some could only discharge such a missile but could not withdraw it, while others could do both. In the *Vedas*, gods and also men rode on a chariot. But in the Classical Age, it is found that, as is mentioned in literature, gods began to fly about in the heavens by air-chariots (known as *Vimāna*). Gods and all gradations of beings above man, took such *Vimānas* and we never again see gods riding chariots. Men could ride upwards into the heavens in their chariots. Men went into the nether world.

All such changes in the lore of the people, helped in bringing about a unity in the whole country, from the north to the south and from the east to the west. Perhaps this new lore came from the west of India, or formed the original lore of the southern part of the country inhabited mainly by the Dravidian peoples. Anyway, it became the common property of the entire nation covering the whole country. Differences like Aryan and Dravidian and also differences like those who followed the Vedic Path in religion and those who followed other paths, completely vanished, and there was only an Indian nation, adhering to the culture found in the two *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas*. This Indian nation was nurtured with the culture of the period, the culture of poets, which is a revival of the poets' culture of the Vedic Age, in a new form and in new environments.

There was a lull in the production of poetic literature between the Vedic and the Classical Ages. There appears to be a big gap. The *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* are first-class poetry, in the Vedic Age. In the *Yajurveda* and in the *Brāhmaṇas*, we find a highly developed art in the form of prose literature. But they are not poetry. In the *Upaniṣads* also, there are a few that can claim a position in the array of poetic literature, though two of them are good poetry, the *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad* and the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*. But the works on Vedic Exegesis and other patterns of literature preserved from that period are not at all poetry, though there is a high literary touch in them, and though some of them are in metrical form, with occasional touches of poetic excellence. After the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, we have to wait till the appearance of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* to find the production of literature that can claim a position by the side of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, and they do deserve such a position and have been accorded that position in the tradition of India.

Was it a complete break in the current of poetic flow in the Sanskrit language? The spirit of the literature that is available during this intervening period does not warrant an assumption that

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there was any great decadence in the culture of the people. The general spirit of the *Yajurveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* is one of triumphant note. If there had been triumph in the life of the nation, then there should have been also the development of poetry and art. The literature, other than poetry but related to poetry like grammar, of the period contemporaneous with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata,* also shows signs of a rich literary harvest during this intervening period. What happened was that there was poetry, and that such poetry did not survive the times. There must have been developing at that time some tendencies that went against the Vedic spirit. The people at large must have been drawn along paths that cut across the ancient and traditional path, and along this new path there was no field where poetry and art and all such factors that constitute the fullness of life, could grow. Thus, this new path went along a barren region, without any green spot of poetry and art. People who turned on to this new path of finding an escape from this world to another region and another condition of freedom from sin and suffering in this world, must have been swelling in numbers, and as such the area of influence for poetry and art must have been getting narrower and narrower. This must be the reason for the absence of poetry belonging to this period in the stock available for us from the ancient days; it is not a break in the production of poetry.

The literature available from that intervening period between the *Vedas* and the Classical Literature, shows that there was a rich harvest of poetical literature in that period. There are references to poetry in most of such literature, which in themselves do not claim to be poetry though they have literary merits. It is in literature that is most closely related to poetry that there is a profusion of such evidence for the rich growth of poetry in that intervening age. Thus Pāṇini, the great grammarian of the Classical Language, devotes a whole section for explaining the derivation of the names of literary works either from the name of the author or from the theme. Most of them appear to be the names of literary works with artistic touches, like poetry. We do not know to which pattern of literature they belong, whether they are epics or short poems or tales or dramas. Patañjali, the commentator of Pāṇini's grammar, also gives similar evidences, mentions many literary works and also cites passages from a large number of literary works. There is also the work on dramaturgy by Bharata. He knew a variety of literary patterns, besides the drama. In the case of dramas, he must have had a large number falling under different patterns. He describes the technique of dramatic construction and the presentation of dramas on the stage; he classifies the dramas and gives names of

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dramas falling under each head. All these evidences show that what was happening at that time was not a drying up of the fields but a devastation of fertile fields that yielded plenty of rich harvest.

The devastation by the opponents of poetry and art and of a full life of happiness in this world did not completely wipe off the genius of the nation. The new forms were enlivened by the old spirit. Valour, martial heroism, a sense of beauty, an eagerness for a full life of happiness—all such factors that constituted the genius of the Vedic people re-appeared again in the nation. Men were again honoured for their own worth, and dress and external make-up lost their charms in the eyes of the nation. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the heroine Sītā was given to the hero by the father on account of the hero's valour and ability to wield a mighty weapon of war, and in the same way, in the *Mahābhārata* also, the heroine Draupadī was given to the hero on account of the latter's dexterity to wield the weapons of war. Martial heroism was raised to the level of a very noble religion and to die in battle fighting valiantly was recognised as a path to Heaven. Virtuosity counted nothing in the context. Virtue is an inner quality which always had an important position in the life of the people; what was not well approved of was virtuosity which is more an external emblem and a make-up.

In the *Vedas* there are references to the opponents of the culture of the people attempting to ruin their own culture, and there is a note of triumph in the Vedic literature when the people were able to vanquish their foes through their valour. History records the attempt of a foreign adventurer to invade India after a walk-over in regions to the west of India; but this foreign adventurer had to retire when he reached the Indian border. Later, foreign invaders were able to penetrate into the country. But the country was so full of life that the foreigners were proud to settle down in the country as citizens and not remain as foreigners, and they were absorbed and assimilated into the nation. That is what happened to the Greeks and the Scythians and the Huns. In the intervening period, it was the priests with the patronage of the kings that dominated the life of the people; poets again came to their deserved position in the life of the people, and they replaced the priests and the kings. If kings were prominent, they were so only on account of their culture and inherent worth and not on account of their political status and power. It was this Classical revival, the re-establishment of the Vedic genius dominated by the poets, that saved the country from utter ruin.

Bharata who was the first to hand down to us a work on dramaturgy, so far as our available literature on the subject goes, classi-

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fies dramas into a main variety and a subsidiary variety; the main variety consists of two groups and the subsidiary variety consists of eight groups. In the two groups of the main variety, the difference between the two groups is that in one the theme is taken from the ancient epics (*Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*) and that in the other, the theme is what the dramatist creates or what he finds current at his time in stories, the theme being always more or less contemporary. Whether the theme is taken from ancient epics or from contemporary sources, the main theme is man in action in a certain situation. There is beauty produced in the presentation of man in action in that situation. Sometimes the situation is more important and sometimes the action is more important. When the situation is more prominent, then the beauty is termed *Śṛṅgāra* (some splendour as Bharata defines it) and when the action is more prominent, the beauty is termed *Vīra* or heroism. The beauty is beauty as being reacted by the heart of man who listens to the recitation of the poetry or who sees the poem presented on the stage, and this beauty, in course of time, became identified with the consequent reaction in the heart of the reader or of the audience. Renunciation, withdrawal into seclusion, forbearance and abstenance from action, were conspicuous by their absence from the literature known to Bharata, and it was only at a much later time, when the nation again began to show signs of a decadence similar to what was prevalent in the intervening period between the *Vedas* and the Classical Age, that a new factor called *Śānta* (forbearance, inaction), found a place among the constituents of poetry. Pity and remorse, amazement, humour, terror, repulsiveness and wrath were the other six factors which Bharata could detect in the dramas known to him, sometimes prominent in the minor varieties and sometimes as subsidiaries in the main varieties. But he did not find any trace of a situation of inaction in any dramatic literature known to him. That shows the genius of the nation revived in the Classical period by the poets.

There is no other literature in the world where the poets dealt with the real problems of life in such an effective way as is found in Sanskrit: there is no literature that influenced the life of the people in the way in which Sanskrit literature did. The *Vedas*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*, the poetic works of Kālidāsa and others—they had a great influence in shaping and guiding the life of the people. That is why the country survived so many cataclysms. Religion which has no value except as solution for the problems of life, spread among the people as given by poets and not as sermons of priests and as edicts of kings. This is the great value of Sanskrit literature to the country and to the world.

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V. KĀLIDĀSA

(i) DATE AND PERSONALITY

When one starts on a treatment of the Classical Literature in Sanskrit, there is no appropriate author to be counted as the first other than Kālidāsa. He is probably the first in chronological order and he is also the first in eminence as a poet. From the time Kālidāsa wrote his poems, he was recognised as the greatest poet by later poets and also by later writers on literary criticism. There are statements about him that when Kālidāsa is counted as the first among poets, there is no one to be counted as the second to follow him. His sweet songs are themes for praises. His dramas and his poems are attempted to be followed and imitated by later poets and dramatists. He is placed side by side with Veda Vyāsa, the author of the *Mahābhārata,* and Vālmīki, the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* they forming a trio.

Practically nothing is known of him and his personality. We do not know where he was born and when he lived, who the notable king or kings were during his life-time, who his contemporaries were as literary men, what his family life was and such other details about his personality. In one of his poems he gives a detailed description of the great city of Ujjayinī and there is a surmise that he was a native of Ujjayinī. He speaks of the saffron green in the fields, and saffron is grown only in Kāshmir, and there is a surmise for this reason that he was a native of Kāshmir.

Although we do not know where he was born, we have sufficient evidence to assume that he must have spent his time mainly in the region north of Nagpur up to Ujjayinī. In the poem where he describes Ujjayinī, he gives a detailed description of the regions starting from somewhere near Nagpur up to Ujjayinī, and then he mentions only the region of the Himalayas, though there is a vast stretch between Ujjayinī and the Himalayas. There he speaks about the city of Vidiśā, the modern Bhilsa, as an imperial capital known in the whole world. This city is also the scene of the incidents in one of his dramas. There is a possibility that the events in that drama were contemporary with him. Because in that drama, there is no prayer at the end, as is usual in dramas, and the only prayer is that the Goddess may put on a graceful face towards those who are his rivals and adverse critics, and the usual prayer is dispensed with on the ground that when the hero was ruling the country there was

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no possibility of any national calamity against which a prayer for the divine intervention is usually made at that stage in the dramas. Unless he was a contemporary of the hero, such a statement cannot be explained. The hero is Agnimitra who ruled the Magadha Empire in the first half of the second century B.C.

This gives a clue to determine the date of Kālidāsa. But this is not the line taken up by historians to determine his date. There is a work on astronomy which is attributed to Kālidāsa himself in the work, and in that work, Kālidāsa is described as one of the nine gems in the court of a great king who bore the title of Vikramāditya (Valour-Sun). There are many kings who bore that title, in the history of India. The attempt of practically all the historians has been to determine the particular Vikramāditya in whose court Kālidāsa must have been an honoured poet.

In the astronomical work itself, the particular Vikramāditya seems to be King Bhoja of Malva in Central India, who ruled the country in the middle of the eleventh century. Of the nine gems, one named Varāhamihira, a great astronomer, lived in the sixth century. Another, Bhaṭṭi, a great poet, lived in the middle of the sixth century. Some others like Śaṅku are not known and many of them could not have been mutual contemporaries, to say nothing of their contemporaneity with Kālidāsa. Not a single statement in this verse is accepted by the historians as representing a historical fact except the contemporaneity of Kālidāsa with a great emperor who bore the title of Vikramāditya.

There is an era bearing the name of Vikramāditya, current in India and that era started in 56 B.C. But no great king bearing the title of Vikramāditya is known in history as having been ruling Ujjayinī at that time. All that we can be sure about is that Kālidāsa is not earlier than the second century B.C. since the hero of one of his dramas was a king who lived in the second century B.C. and that he could not have been later than about 600 A.D. since in an inscription of 639 his name is seen as that of a great poet and since a great writer of that time also praises Kālidāsa's poetry.

The generally accepted date of Kālidāsa is about the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., when the Gupta Dynasty ruled over the Magadha Empire; a few kings of this dynasty had taken the title of Vikramāditya. One of Kālidāsa's dramas has the name *Vikramorvaśīya* (Vikrama-Urvaśī), and it is assumed that the element of Vikrama was introduced to indicate his loyalty to Vikramāditya. He is supposed to have a partiality for the term Gupta (protected), which is used profusely in his poems and also words from the same root. He is considered to have a partiality for the kings of that dynasty

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who bore the title of Vikramāditya, like Chandragupta son of Samudragupta (implied by the simile of the moon born out of the ocean), Kumāragupta in whose honour he is supposed to have written the epic bearing the name *Kumārasambhava* (birth of Kumāra, the War-god) and Skandagupta implied by the frequent use of the name Skanda for this War-god.

Kālidāsa is supposed to have known Greek astronomy and he uses the Greek term Diametron in the Sanskrit form Jyāmitra. This could not have been, as the historians make out, prior to the third century A.D. He speaks also of Greek maidens as body-guards of the heroes in his dramas and as custodians of their armoury; this too, as they say, indicates a date later than the third century A.D. for Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa knew the Huns to the south of the river Oxus and the Huns did not cross the Oxus basin to the south till the fourth century A.D. In a poem of a great poet Aśvaghoṣa, who wrote two poems about Buddha, there is the description of the ladies of the city crowding at the windows in their houses in the street when Buddha was going out in procession, and there is a similar description in the two epics of Kālidāsa also, in a similar context. Kālidāsa's presentation is more refined and it is assumed that Kālidāsa took the clue from the poetry of Aśvaghoṣa and polished it before presentation. Aśvaghoṣa's date is known as about 100 A.D. These are the various arguments to show that Kālidāsa's date may be in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Nothing definite can be said on the point; one can only present the facts.

Kālidāsa knew the whole of India of that time, which was not much different from the India of the present times; perhaps at that time, India had extended further to the west, including the eastern part of Persia, Afghanistan and the south of Turkistan. He speaks of these countries (Afghanistan is not mentioned, but implied). He mentions Kāshmir and Kāmboja on the western side of India and Prāgjyotiṣa, the present Assam. He knew the Himalayas very intimately and speaks about the *Devadāru* and the *Bhūrja* trees there, about some efflorescent plants whose leaves cast a glow which penetrates even into the interior of the caves, about the lions and about the various tribes on the mountains.

He knew the various parts of India with their peculiarities. He speaks about the agricultural process of the Gangetic Delta, of the palm trees in the east coast, the betel creepers, sandal-tree forests and the elephants that take rest in the cool shades of the trees, of the river Kāverī and the elephants enjoying a bath in its waters and of the Muralā river on the west coast on the banks of which the Ketaka flowers grow. He describes the areca-nut trees on which

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the betel leaf creepers wind round and of sandal-trees to which the cardamom creepers cling on. All these features are described in appropriate places in the description of the different regions in India. He speaks of the maidens in Persia who drink wine, of the head-gear which the soldiers in Persia wore and the horses on which they rode. This shows his acquaintance with the features in the regions on the borders of India.

Traditions maintain that he was an idiotic boy who became learned with poetic talents through the grace of the Goddess. It may be that he was not an erudite scholar. But he must have had his intensive and broad-based education. He was proficient in grammar. He knew astronomy and medicine. He was acquainted with the *Vedas* and the Vedic rituals, also with temple worship and the ceremonials and festivities connected with temple worship. He was well-versed in the systems of philosophy current at that time and also in the various Purānic literature. He knew the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābharata*, though it is not certain whether he knew the works as they are available. The themes that he handles in his poetry are also found in the Purānic literature, though some of the events mentioned by him are not traceable to any of the *Purāṇas* and though in details many of the themes that he handles are not quite in accord with the version now available in the *Purāṇas*.

He has left for us three dramas and two epics, and also one lyric. There is some doubt about another lyric. There are many works that have been attributed to him in later tradition; but they are by other authors who were known in their own times by the title of Kālidāsa, since they were recognised as great poets in their own days, like Kālidāsa. Many such later Kālidāsas are known now, from records of a later date. In the dramas he takes the theme from the *Purāṇas* in two and from history in another; perhaps it is a contemporary event that is dealt with in this drama. For his lyric, the theme is his own creation; this is true of both the lyrics, if we accept both as his works. He must have written many more which are not now preserved.

(ii) DRAMAS

a. *Mālavikāgnimitra*

Kālidāsa has written three dramas, so far as the literature that has come down to us is concerned; he may have written more. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* seems to be the earliest among the three dramas. Here there is some apology given about the drama and its possible defects. After the usual prayer, the manager of the theatre, known

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as the *Sūtradhāra* (the bearer of the thread), tells his companion actor that he has been ordered by the assembly of men that has gathered on the occasion of the Spring Festival, to present Kālidāsa's drama, the *Mālavikāgnimitra,* on the stage. The companion asks him whether people will appreciate the drama of a living author when there are dramas by earlier writers who have earned world fame. Then the manager says: "Everything does not become acceptable simply because it is ancient, and a poem shall not be condemned on the ground that it is new; genuine critics make the choice among them and the ordinary people follow them in their views." This indicates that that was the first time when a drama of Kālidāsa was presented on the stage. There is also an indication of Kālidāsa's confidence in the success of the performance if once it is shown on the stage.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* is a historical drama with a love affair intertwined with the historical event. The two plots are very cleverly intertwined. One cannot be released from the other. At first it may seem that the love affair between king Agnimitra and the princess Mālavikā forms the main plot and that the historical event is only a minor factor. But when we consider the character of the hero, it will be found that the historical plot it is which brings out the true character of the hero. Without this historical event brought in the beginning and also in the end of the drama, the hero dwindles into a simple, meek lover with no sense of responsibility, with no noble traits. But when the historical event is brought to bear on the character of the hero, it would be found that he is a true hero of martial valour, in whose private life some simple events also took place which bring out his human traits to temper his martial valour.

The plot relates to one of the most critical periods in the history of India. Towards the close of the third century, a great warrior, with the assistance of his great minister, one of the greatest diplomats named Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya, overthrew the last of the Nandas who were weak and unworthy of sitting on the throne of the Magadha Empire in India, and ascended the throne; he is Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He and his grandson Aśoka restored the glories of the country and also revived the ancient culture. That was the time when foreigners were on the borders of India and, but for this timely change in the political situation, perhaps India would have fallen a prey to the invaders like the countries in the west at that time.

The last king of this dynasty was also very weak and the country was again in the danger of becoming a victim of foreign in-

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vasion. His commander, Puṣyamitra, got rid of him and ascended the throne, though he styled himself simply as commander of the army and not as king. His son was Agnimitra, an equally great warrior, and he was commissioned to consolidate the empire in the south. He took up his residence in Vidiśā as his capital. The minister of the last Maurya king was the brother-in-law of the king of Vidarbha, just to the south of the place which Agnimitra chose as his capital. Naturally he was Agnimitra's enemy, and Agnimitra wanted to enter into a marriage alliance with the cousin of the king who was a rival claimant to the throne. A marriage with the sister of this rival to the king of Vidarbha was settled, and he with his sister set out for the capital of Agnimitra. The party was waylaid by the army of the king, and in the fray, the sister was missing and the brother was captured. This is the situation when the plot of the drama begins.

King Agnimitra sent a note to the king of Vidarbha asking him to release the rival whom he had captured and also to find out the missing sister, and the king replied that he would try to find out the missing princess and would also release the captive prince provided Agnimitra on his part would release the minister of the Maurya king who was a captive under him. This offer enraged Agnimitra and he decided to send an army as a reply, breaking off all negotiations.

It happened that the princess, Mālavikā, escaped and found refuge in the border post of the army of Agnimitra under the command of the brother of Agnimitra's queen Dhāriṇī, and this brother sent the lady, whose identity was kept a secret by her, to his sister as a fit person to be in charge of her treasure and jewels and also as a companion. The queen knew from her demeanour that she must be a princess and concealed her from the king lest the king should fall in love with her, since such an alliance may go against the alliance with the prince who was a rival to the throne of Vidarbha; the happenings on the way were not known to any one. She treated her with unusual consideration, had a painting made with her sitting close to her, made a valuable ring with the serpent mark on it and also entrusted her to a great dancing master so that she may have training and be a rival to the younger queen, Irāvatī, who was an expert in dancing.

Mālavikā had a lady companion whose brother died in that fray, and she decided to renounce the world out of grief, and joined the monastic order. She too found her way to the palace of Agnimitra and became a companion to the queen. The king had his companion, known usually as the Vidūṣaka, and Mālavikā too had a companion

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named Bakulāvalikā who was the queen's lady-in-waiting. The four, including the dancing master, prepared a plot to arrange for a meeting of Agnimitra with Mālavikā, and the plot succeeded. The queen was very much annoyed and told the king that it would have been far better if he had the same ingenuity in political matters also; she did not want anything to stand in the way of the proposed alliance with the Vidarbha prince through a marriage with his sister. This starts the love affair; the hero and the heroine meet occasionally; the queen becomes very much upset. The heroine is put under confinement and another plot by the same group helps them to secure her release.

At that stage, the army of Agnimitra had defeated the Vidarbha king, and the king's son, Vasumitra, had also secured a great victory over the Yavanas (Greek settlers in Persia). Both Agnimitra and the queen were unhappy that the father, Puṣyamitra, had given such a risky commission to that boy prince. Now the triumph removed that displeasure. Escorts who escaped from the fray also found their way to the palace of Agnimitra and they recognised Mālavikā. Everything turned out happy and the king Agnimitra and the princess Mālavikā were joined together in festive wedlock; the queen Dhāriṇī was proud of this event and apologised to the princess for the way in which she had been treated on account of her ignorance about her identity.

Here we find a variety of characters, a variety of situations. The king with his martial valour and firm determination is immediately found to be engaged in a love plot in which he could not take the lead; he trembles before the two queens and also before the princess when they met in the garden. He even falls at their feet, and asks for their pardon. It is the power of character delineation which Kālidāsa commanded which enabled him to reconcile a great hero and a timid lover in the same person. Unless the king had been presented with his martial valour in the beginning, his behaviour before the queens and the heroine would have been ridiculous and the drama would have been insipid. Now it turns out to be an enjoyable humour when the great hero becomes so meek and timid in the ladies' apartments. The king is presented to us in the palace, yet he is not the dry, formal king Duṣṣanta on the throne in the *Śākuntala,* without any human element. Agnimitra is presented in a homely environment with all the natural weakness of men in their home affairs, where heroism and hard determination become misfits. A hero in war and a simple, lovable human being at home—this is Agnimitra.

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The queen Dhāriṇī is noble and dignified, very considerate to the people around her, devoted to her husband, sacrificing everything for his success, and never thinking of any petty enjoyments and luxuries in the palace. She was simple in habits, attended to her duties with devotion, never thought of anything but the welfare and success of the king and was more a mother to the king than a wife—so serious was her bearing. As a contrast to her is the other queen, Irāvatī, young and handsome, proud of her charms, thinking of nothing but the luxuries of the palace, spending all her time in dress and toilet and in drinking wine, talking freely about the pleasures of wine, jealous and intolerant.

The lady-in-waiting of the elder queen Dhāriṇī, named Bakulāvalikā, was serious-minded and became a trusted companion to the heroine after her arrival and she played her part in the plot to bring about the meeting of the hero and the heroine. Clever and careful, she could be jovial and at the same time she knew how to keep her tongue under control at the needed time. There is the *Vidūṣaka,* a unique character in this drama in contrast to his usual behaviour in the other dramas. Intelligent, full of resources, he was in the confidence of the king and never betrayed him. In all difficult situations he knew what he should do to save the situation and did it with a natural ease so that no one thought of any plot being worked up. There are the two dancing masters, one who gave instruction to the younger queen Irāvatī, and the other who was employed by the elder queen Dhāriṇī, as instructor to the heroine. The former is hot-tempered and provocative, while the latter is proud of his art, calm and yet full of a spirit of enthusiasm to defend the dignity of his profession, unyielding to any one. They formed a mutual contrast.

There was the lady companion of the heroine who lost her brother and who in consequence took to the monastic order and stayed in the palace of the king as the companion of the elder queen Dhāriṇī. Highly educated, respected by the king and the queen and by all, devoted to her former companion, the heroine, and working for the union of the heroine with the hero, keeping her confidence regarding the identity of the heroine, and though belonging to a monastic order, engaging herself in accomplishing the worldly purposes of the hero and the heroine.

Here we find an array of characters, each clear-cut and distinct from the other, presenting contrasts that help in creating an artistic harmony in the assemblage of contrasts. The king as a hero and as a submissive lover, the two queens, the two dancing-masters, the lady who had joined the monastic order playing the part of an active agent to accomplish worldly ends, the heroine, a princess and living

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incognito in the palace of her prospective husband—they are all brought into a dual plot of political events and love episodes, a plot full of action and tense situations. Events follow events in natural succession, difficult situations arise in a natural way and solutions are also worked out in the same natural way.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* is a drama of plot and action and character delineation. The king is presented in the palace, both as a great and firm ruler and a victorious hero, and also as a pleasant person full of human elements; this is in contrast to the character of the hero in the *Śākuntala* when he appears in the palace. Here we find the hero of the *Śākuntala* in the setting of the hermitage in the earlier acts, presented in the setting of the palace. There is little of Nature introduced in this drama and this fits into the situation of intense activity in which the plot develops. There is nothing that can be called the supernatural also. This is in harmony with the historical theme in the drama; supernatural events do not occur much in the life of a historical hero, what is supernatural being in harmony with mythological events. As a drama of plot and characterisation and intense activity, this is one of the greatest dramas in Sanskrit literature.

b. Vikramorvaśīya

The *Vikramorvaśīya* is the second among the available dramas of Kālidāsa. In the prologue there is no apology for putting on the stage a new drama by a living author. Kālidāsa's name must have become well known at the time this drama was staged. The stage-manager simply appeals to the audience to give the dramatic troupe a patient hearing: "It may be out of regard for the actors, the friends who have given the audience enjoyment on previous occasions; it may be out of consideration for a good theme; may you, honoured men who have come here, lend an attentive ear to this composition of Kālidāsa." Kālidāsa was confident that his name was sufficient to create an interest in the audience.

The plot is taken from ancient mythology. The story is as old as the oldest literature in Sanskrit, the *Ṛgveda*. There is a poem in the *Ṛgveda* in the form of a dialogue between the hero and the heroine. The hero is king Purūravas, the third in the Lunar dynasty, grandson of the Moon. The heroine is a celestial nymph, Urvaśī. The drama deals with the first meeting of the hero and the heroine, their mutual love, ultimate marriage, their separation and their reunion. The hero had already a queen, the daughter of the king of Kāśi, the modern Banaras. The presence of such a queen helps the

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plot to develop with some intricacy, in so far as she becomes a mild obstacle to the hero and the heroine coming together.

The *Vikramorvaśīya* is a clear contrast to the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. In the *Vikramorvaśīya* there is nothing that can be called a plot. The characters are few and there is little variety; they have no clear-cut individuality. There is no action and no movement. The supernatural element brings an element of wonder which sustains the interest in the drama. There is plenty of scope for music and dance, for light and colours. The poetry is superb in the drama, far superior to what is found in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. This is in keeping with the situation full of supernatural elements and celestial persons appearing in the drama, in contrast to the historical theme in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, which requires also a more matter-of-fact style in poetry.

Purūravas was in the habit of occasionally visiting Heaven to pay his respects to Indra, the king of the heavenly region. On one such occasion when he was returning from Heaven riding on a chariot drawn by horses and moving in the sky on the top of the clouds, he heard a cry of distress, and on search he found that two celestial nymphs, Urvaśī and her companion Citralekhā, were caught by a demon named Keśin; he rescued them from the demon and took them to their celestial home. That was the occasion for the first sprouting of mutual love.

Urvaśī decided to go to the king on the earth along with her companion Citralekhā. Purūravas too was then talking with his confidential companion, known as the *Vidūṣaka*, about the events and about the charms of Urvaśī and his feelings towards her. The hero and the heroine met in the garden of the hero's palace. At that time there was an announcement that Urvaśī was wanted in Heaven by Indra, the Lord of Heaven, to take part in the performance of a drama produced by Bharata, the great sage and original exponent of the dramatic art, in the presence of all the gods. She hurried back; but her heart was full of the thoughts of Purūravas. During the performance, she was taking the part of Lakṣmī, and her companion asked her in whom her desires fell, to which she replied "in Purūravas" when she ought to have said "in Puruṣottama", the greatest person, i.e., Viṣṇu. Bharata was full of rage at this mistake and cursed her that she would become a mortal.

Indra wanted the help of Purūravas in his wars against the demons, and knowing that the error was due to the love which Urvaśi bore for the same Purūravas, he permitted her to go to the earth and live there as the consort of king Purūravas. Thus Urvaśī became the wife of Purūravas on account of his prowess (*Vikrama*). When

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Urvaśī came to the earth, the king was in the company of the queen; the queen knew about his love and gave her permission and the king married Urvaśī. She had a son; but the understanding was that Urvaśī should live with Purūravas until he would see the face of a son born to her, and so Urvaśī entrusted the boy to a female ascetic who took care of him.

It so happened that one day when they were enjoying their mutual company in the forests on the mountains far away from their home, after the king had entrusted the work of government to his ministers, there arose some misunderstanding between the king and Urvaśī over a petty affair, and so she left him and disappeared. The king was full of grief at this loss and he went into the forests and wandered on the mountains, half mad over the incident, and began to address various objects like the cloud and the birds and the animals and the trees and the rivers, asking them if any one of them had seen his companion. In the end he saw a gem which he picked up and then he saw a creeper which attracted his attention in a special way, and he tried to embrace that creeper, when all on a sudden that creeper was converted into Urvaśī. She had wandered into an area in the forests that was prohibited for ladies, and that was the reason for her change into a creeper, though she could continue to see and hear and feel. Both exchanged their minds and the misunderstanding was cleared up; they returned to the palace.

At this stage, the female ascetic who had been looking after the son of Purūravas born of Urvaśī, brought him to the palace; his identity was discovered and Urvaśī was sad that the time for her departure had come. The king also decided to place the son on the throne and go to the forests for penance on account of this new misfortune. But Indra sent word through the great sage Nārada that the king should not put down his responsibility of government since there would in the near future be a war between the gods and the demons in which the king's help was indispensable. So he asked Urvaśī to live with the king. Thus a second time Urvaśī lived with the king on account of the prowess (*Vikrama*) of the king.

The drama derives its name from the name of the heroine Urvaśī and from the prowess (*Vikrama*) of the hero, with which her hand was won by the hero. It is a drama of music and dance and light and colour. The entry of a divine damsel will fall flat on the audience if there is no colour and a real show of supernatural glow. There is no action at all in the drama; it is a drama of lustre and brilliance, things that appeal to the eye and also to the ear by way of music. The theme is supernatural and there must be a supernatural atmosphere also, which is usually associated with light and

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colour and dance and music. Action is inappropriate in such a situation. Where there is intense activity, there can be no light and colour effect.

The hero sits silent and the plot develops, if there is anything like a plot; anyway, there is no action on the part of the hero and the heroine and also on the part of the characters associated with them. Things happen by themselves; there is nothing that can function as a serious obstacle for the movement of the story, what little movement there is, which obstacle has to be removed through any positive steps that have to be taken. The queen is the only possible obstacle, and she simply gives her consent for the marriage of the hero with the heroine. Indra gives his consent to the heroine to go to the earth and live with the king; as a matter of fact, he commands her to do so. There is the heroism of the king at the outset, which is only a prelude to the beginning of the story. His heroism and his valour are mentioned by Indra in the middle and towards the close of the drama. At the closing portion also there is a touch of heroism. But heroism and activity do not form the main feature in the drama.

In the Fourth Act, where the king is seen wandering about the forest regions in search of the heroine who had disappeared, there is plenty of scope for acting, and it is mono-acting. This is the place where there is an element of Nature introduced into the drama. The main part of the drama, all the Acts except the fourth, is laid in the palace, where there is no scope for any Nature description. But the Fourth Act compensates for this defect. It is full of Nature description. Thus, the celestial nymphs and the king in the Fourth Act give plenty of scope for music and dance. The queen appears only in two Acts, where the heroine also appears; it is just before the appearance of the heroine that the queen is presented on the stage in both the Acts. She is too noble and dignified and serious to be a fit centre for an atmosphere of music and dance and light and colour; she appears in the drama as a contrast to the heroine, the divine damsel. The *Vidūṣaka*, the confidential companion of the hero, also is the usual character found in most of the dramas; he talks stupid things that are supposed to pass as jokes and he also behaves in a comical way which is supposed to provoke laughter.

There is a possibility of interpreting the drama as a form of glorifying Nature in the life of man. The king had the noble and dignified queen as companion and he is attracted by the fickle pleasures of the celestial region personified by the celestial nymph Urvaśī, the heroine. She forsakes him and he resorts to Nature to find out his lost happiness, and the celestial happiness becomes a

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permanent feature in his life only when that was converted into an aspect of Nature and when he found it in that object of Nature, a creeper. Man is happier in this world than what he could be in heaven. Without this back-ground of a philosophy, the Fourth Act becomes an irrelevant projection from the story. The drama brings into prominence the contrast of life on the earth and life in Heaven, the permanent value of the one and the fickleness of the other.

c. *Śākuntala*

The *Śākuntala* has always been recognised as the masterpiece of Kālidāsa throughout the history of Sanskrit literature and also in modern times. What the great German poet Goethe wrote about it after reading the translation of a translation, is known to all who are acquainted with Sanskrit literature. The *Śākuntala* must have been his last drama, among the three now available to us. By the time he wrote this drama his fame had been well established as a great dramatist. It is certain that he had written many more dramas and that must have been the reason for this great fame which he was able to establish. But those dramas are now lost to us. He was also known as a great poet besides being a great dramatist.

After the usual prayer at the beginning of the drama, the stage-manager enters and asks the chief actress to come to the stage if she has completed her make-up and she enters, when the stage-manager announces that they propose to present the drama of Kālidāsa named the *Śākuntala* before the audience in which the majority are great scholars and critics and he asks the chief actress to bestow special attention on each and every character. There is no apology. When the chief actress says that in so far as the stage-manager had been properly trained in his art, there would be no defect, he again says that even though he had been able to give satisfaction to the learned people through his performances, he felt a little diffident about that day's performance; even for those who are well trained, the mind loses its confidence on occasions. Such is the present occasion, perhaps in so far as he has to present a drama of Kālidāsa.

The theme is taken from the ancient epics, like the theme of the *Vikramorvaśīya*. The characters that appear in the drama are known even in the Vedic literature. The hero is one of the great kings of the Lunar dynasty, a direct descendant of the hero of the *Vikramorvaśīya*. The son of the hero and the heroine, Bharata by name, is also a great king whose name appears in the Vedic literature. The heroine is the daughter of the celestial nymph Menakā, and of the great sage Viśvāmitra, who was enamoured of her charms and submitted to her solicitations. A baby was born, a girl named

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Śakuntalā who was abandoned by both the parents, and another sage named Kaṇva saw the baby thus abandoned and took care of it as his own daughter. She grew up in the hermitage in the company of two other girls of her own age who were sent to the hermitage by their parents for proper education. It was time that the foster-father found out a proper mate for the girl. This is the stage at which the plot of the drama begins.

There was a great king of the Lunar dynasty named Duṣṣanta; one day in summer he was hunting in the forests near about the hermitage of the sage Kaṇva, and drawn by an antelope he reached the gate of the hermitage and understood that antelope to belong to the hermitage. He was invited at the gate by some boys who were disciples in the hermitage, to go to the hermitage. On enquiry he was told that the great Sage was not himself at home and that he had left on a pilgrimage to have a bath in a holy place called Somatīrtha in order to expiate some sin that he suspected in the case of his adopted daughter; but that daughter was there to receive the guests. He entered the hermitage and saw three girls watering the trees and the plants and the creepers in the garden of the hermitage. He found a pretext to enter the garden instead of going to the hermitage proper, and all the four sat under a tree, the king being received by them in the garden without much of a formality. The first sprouts of the mutual love between the hero and the heroine made their appearance at this meeting.

Returning to the camp, the king had a sleepless night, and the next morning he decided to cancel his hunting, and then he began to talk to his confidential companion, the usual *Vidūṣaka,* about what he had seen the previous day; he wanted some excuse to continue his stay in that neighbourhood. At that time two disciples in the hermitage came to him and invited him to spend a few days in the hermitage so that they could have protection against the evil spirits that were harassing them on account of the absence of the Sage, and he willingly accepted the invitation. He sent the confidential companion to the capital and the army also was sent back. He was left alone in the hermitage.

There were various occasions when he could meet the heroine, and the two companions of the heroine were very helpful in managing their meeting. Their mutual love developed and they decided to marry according to the ancient custom of companionship marriage without any religious rites. After spending a few days, the king returned to his capital with a promise to send proper escort to take Śakuntalā to the palace, in a few days. The heroine was expecting a baby. She was full of thoughts about her consort at this

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first separation; there was also a doubt, entertained by the two companions that perhaps the king might change his mind after his return to the palace and its environments.

At that time it so happened that a sage named Durvāsas came to the hermitage; Śakuntalā, the heroine, was completely immersed in her thoughts about her husband and did not notice the arrival of such an honoured guest. He was enraged and cursed her that in so far as she ignored him, the man about whom she was thinking would also forget her. The companions heard this curse and after great entreaty secured a *terminus* for the operation of this curse, which was the sight by the king of a suitable mark for recognition (*Abhijñāna*). They kept the curse as a great secret.

The great Sage, the foster-father of the heroine, returned and knew from a supernatural, celestial word that the king had come during his absence and had married the daughter who had become an expectant mother. He was very much pleased that he could secure as his son-in-law the very person whom he was thinking of as the suitable husband for her. He made immediate arrangements for her journey to the palace of her husband. There was great festivity in the hermitage. She was dressed up in the proper fashion for the journey to the palace, with silk and jewels that were given by the forest-nymphs living on the trees. The farewell to the trees and the animals and the birds of the hermitage is a very touching scene. She was sent to the palace under proper escort.

Śakuntalā had a ring given to her by the king when he left her. Her companions thought that that ring would be a proper mark for recognition in case the king, now in the palace, did not recognise her. But during the journey, the ring was lost in a lake where they had their halt. They reached the palace; they were received with all honours due to the people from a hermitage. The king had forgotten all about the events in the forest. The heroine narrated various events that had taken place and she tried various methods to remind him of the marriage. He was adamant; hot words passed between the king and one of the escorts, a young boy who was a disciple in the hermitage and who knew the heroine for a long time. In the escort, there was the sister of the Sage, who knew nothing of what was taking place between the king and the heroine during the former's stay in the hermitage; her pride was wounded. In the end, the heroine showed her face by removing the veil; there was no effect; she thought of the ring, and that was missing. In this pitiable position the escort refused to take her back to the hermitage and the king refused to take her into the palace. She was suddenly taken away by some shining person, a

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lady; that was the companion of the mother of the heroine, who was always watching about her welfare. She was deposited in the hermitage of another great sage, Mārīca. There a son was born to her and the boy grew up and received proper training as a prince.

The lost ring was found by a fisherman and taken to the king. On the sight of that ring, the king remembered again all that had taken place and he was full of remorse; but it was too late. He was in the garden thinking of and repenting his mistake. At that time a message came from Indra, the Lord of the heavens, that the king might go to the heavens to help the gods against the demons; he ascended the celestial chariot and went to the heavens and defeated and killed the enemy. He was returning to the earth, when he was attracted by the beauty of the Himalayas over which he was flying. He decided to get down there, and knowing that the hermitage of the great Sage Mārīca was in that neighbourhood, he went there. A boy was playing with a lion and the king knew that that must be his son, when the boy said that his mother was Śakuntalā. There was re-union and they all returnd to the palace.

There is an interesting story in the drama though there is no intricacy in the plot. It is a simple plot, but very cleverly handled. It is full of tense situations, especially in the second half. There is a variety of characters that appear on the stage and the number is also large. The character delineation is superb, well cut and full of life and activity, especially in what are known as the minor characters. This is the drama where Nature plays a very important part. The scene, except in the Fifth Act when the hero and the heroine meet after their separation in the hermitage, is in the forest hermitage; the Sixth Act where the king appears in remorse and repentance, is in the palace garden. This gives ample scope for the introduction of Nature as an important element in the drama. The one palace scene is to bring about the contrast between Free Nature in the forest and the dead formalities in the palace. The Heaven and the Earth, the supernatural and the natural, the king and the common people, the Sage and the affairs of the world—all are blended into a very harmonious whole.

The most dominating character in the drama is the great Sage Kaṇva, the foster-father of the heroine; he appears on the stage only once, at the time of the farewell of the heroine from her forest home, in the Fourth Act. Yet we feel his dominating presence throughout the drama; the story receives the power for its movement, its whole momentum, from this great personality. The hero does nothing, the heroine does nothing. Everything is done by this great Sage. An eternal celebate, he becomes a very fond father always

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worried about the marriage of the heroine when she came of age, and even undertaking a hard pilgrimage to expiate any sin that might be in the girl in so far as she was not securing a suitable companion in life. He has renounced, he is a hermit, only in so far as his private life was concerned; he never started a movement to convert people to his way of living and never organised an Order to which he admitted people. He worked for the people in their normal life.

In contrast to him is the other sage who too makes his appearance only once and that in a casual way; he is the irritable Durvāsas who cast a curse on the heroine. He is not felt either prior to this or after this and his curse had no real effect; its effects, temporary, were wiped off very easily. He had the form of a hermit; he was full of a sense of self-importance and could never understand the realities of the world. He had no sense of values either and he inflicted such a hard punishment for such a simple error. Forbearance, compassion and tolerance are nowhere near him, the very qualities that should make up a hermit. He destroyed, rather tried to destroy, in a moment what the other true hermit had built up during many years. He came, did damage and disappeared while the other remained, worked up, built up and continued.

The king is a great contradiction in himself and it is this contradiction within which makes the character so very interesting; but for this contradiction, he would have been a simple, insipid figure on the stage. We see him in various settings. First he appears in the act of hunting and then suddenly the character changes. When he hears that the great Sage had left the hermitage entrusting the duties of receiving guests to his daughter, his interest in paying a visit to the hermitage flares up, and he conceals his real intention with the apologetic statement that she would convey to the Sage his great devotion and loyalty to him. Instead of straightway going into the hermitage, he hides himself behind a tree to watch the three girls as they are watering the trees and creepers in the garden. A bee comes out of a flower and disturbs the heroine who shouts out; the companions say, "You call out for the king." That gives an opportunity for the hero to make his appearance from behind the tree, as if he was protecting the girls who were attacked by some evil being. His identity is discovered by them and yet he consoles himself thinking that they would believe him to be only a king's agent. He is accustomed to all the formalities and ceremonies of court and here he has to move like an ordinary person; he is happy to be so free in an informal setting and yet his feeling that his identity has been detected makes him a little uncomfortable

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in that setting. The two companions taunt the heroine, and the heroine tries to go away when one of them stops her saying that she should pay back her debt in the form of an extra tree watered by the companion on behalf of the heroine. The king's own nature steps in and the hero offers his ring to the companion to get the heroine released from that obligation. There is a sort of humour in the situation. The king's simple nature as an individual and his feeling of royal status come into mutual conflict and that creates the humorous situation. We like him as a simple, good-natured man and we pity him for his royal status.

As a real contrast to this, we see the same king in his palace sitting on the throne when the heroine under proper escort goes to the palace. Here we find the king as a king, devoid of any human touch, thinking only of the palace and its formalities and ceremonies. There is the liveried attendant entering first as an emblem of royalty, and then the king himself is introduced as a ruler, fatigued with the weight of government, his human nature thrown into the back-ground being hidden by this self-consciousness of his royal position; yet there is a human element in him as a man which is concealed behind the royal paraphernalia, and we see just a glimmer of it when he says that his opportunity to sit on the throne had only brought to a close his long-cherished eagerness for that position with no special advantage and with the weight of his work without anything to compensate it. He as a crowned king orders that the guests be received at a particular place by a particular official in a particular manner. He does not recognise the heroine and even refuses to consider any such possibility, stiff in his replies, unbending in his obstinacy, emphasising his royal status and intolerent of any one and any other view. Such a presentation of the character of any one would have been revolting but for his presentation in an earlier scene with all his human traits and human frailties. This scene of the king on the throne forms a sort of bridge between the king in the hermitage in the earlier Acts as a simple person and his future presence in another hermitage as a king with human features combined. It is such a combination of contrasts that makes the character so very interesting.

There is the confidential companion of the king, just a simple fellow pretending to be a humorist; he is just an occasion for the king to give out his feelings. In the Second and in the Third Acts, there is little of action; they form some sort of lyrical poetry in the form of dialogues. In the Second Act, the confidential companion is the only suitable person that could be introduced and in the Third Act, the two companions of the heroine and the heroine herself appear

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only to give an occasion for some of the most lyrical passages in the drama. This lyrical portion prepares the mind of the audience for the intense activity and brisk movement in the next two Acts. In the Sixth Act, we are taken once more into a situation of lyrical poetry that eases the mind from the strain of the Fifth Act, where the king rejects the heroine and the escorts from the hermitage too refuse to take her back.

One of the two disciples who accompany the heroine is also a very strong character, assertive and firm in his views, fearless in giving expression to his feelings. He calls the king a fraud in so far as his politics is nothing but cheating others. The most interesting characters in the whole drama are the two companions of the heroine. They have a single heart and a single mission, to help the heroine in her life. But they are a contrast to each other and it is this contrast that gives life to the two characters. One is jovial and talkative, provoking talk also, ready with jokes, very resourceful in creating humorous situations. The other is rather serious with fewer words, but full of human traits, able to understand others and even ready to take a joke for its true value. Both are full of life and sincerely devoted to the heroine.

There are other very interesting character delineations like the fisherman who finds the king's ring inside a fish and brings it to the king recognising it from the name engraved on it and the policeman who catches him for being in possession of the king's treasure. There is the commander of the army who wants a day's freedom from hunting and yet pretends to be very enthusiastic about the hunting. The son of the hero in the last Act where he is introduced as playing with a lion cub, is another very interesting character. The friend of the heroine's mother who was keeping a very vigilant watch over the affairs of the heroine does not appear on the stage. The liveried attendant of the king (called the *Kāñcukin*), an aged man, full of his sense of duty and proud of his position, also is a very impressive character. In all such cases, the character is sketched with a very few strokes, and even with such a small number of strokes we get a picture very clear and vivid, sharply drawn with a well-marked individuality. It is in the sketches of the characters who appear only very seldom on the stage that we find the mastery of Kālidāsa in the art of character delineation.

Then there are characters that are not introduced as characters in a drama, that appear only as an embellishment on the background and on the borders; I mean the objects of Nature. They appear as living characters, with feelings, among whom the characters live as companions and as equals. In the First Act, the heroine

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with the two companions appears watering the garden. They speak of the trees and the creepers in terms of the beloved and the lover. They talk of their marriage, and this gives an occasion for introducing the prospective union of the heroine with a suitable companion. In the Fifth Act, there is the leave-taking when the trees and the animals and the birds come in as companions of the heroine. The objects of Nature are as much active characters in the drama as the living characters like men and women.

The supernatural also comes into the development of the plot of the drama. The supernatural element helps to prepare the mind of the audience for the new situations arising, while such situations arise as a natural sequence to the events in the drama. Thus there is a balance between the natural and the supernatural. Even the curse of the wicked sage is not presented as having any active function in the development of the plot. The king on the throne is presented in such a way that any one would feel that he actually remembered the events in the forest but was pretending to know nothing about it to save his face when he was sitting on the throne surrounded by his officials; they would not like that the king went to the forest and married a girl in a hermitage. By the time the scene is finished, there is the revelation of the actual fact and the remorse of the king at his mistake and the consequent suffering of the heroine. The sight of the ring and its effect in reminding the king of his actions in the forest hermitage are not openly presented to the audience during a main Act, but only in an interlude between two Acts. What actually impresses on the audience is that the king simply pretended not to remember any of the events in the forest in the Royal Assembly while, when he was left alone, he repented his action done when he was sitting on the throne. Other minor items of the supernatural like the quivering of the hand when the king entered the forest hermitage which indicated association with a beloved, are only the popular beliefs of the times which were quite natural on the stage. The forest nymphs living on the trees supplied the silk robes and decorations and the ornaments for the heroine to go to the palace; this is in unison with the situation, and the journey of the hero to the heavens is also in accord with the nature of an epic hero. The supernatural elements prepare the proper atmosphere for the different stages in the development of the plot while the events take place in natural sequence.

The whole drama is a harmonious assemblage of factors that are different from one another into a unit; the great Sage and the king, the great Sage and the pretender sage, the different sides of the hero, the two companions of the heroine, the human beings and the

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animate and inanimate Nature and the semi-divine beings, earth and heaven, forest hermitage and palace—all are brought into a harmonious whole. Everything fits into its place and the differences are obliterated. The hard facts of the world are presented in a romantic setting. We know that what we see is something different from what comes within our normal experience, and yet we feel that everything is very natural and we believe in the reality of the situations. That is the great Art.

(iii) POEMS

a. Raghuvaṁśa

The *Raghuvaṁśa* is an epic poem in eighteen cantos. As the name implies, it deals with the Raghu dynasty. It is perhaps one of Kālidāsa's earliest compositions. We do not know whether it is his earliest composition or whether the drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* preceded it. The probability is that he started this epic as his first attempt at poetry. After a prayer that he may be endowed with the ability to command proper language for proper ideas for a poem, he apologises for his undertaking, having regard to the vast difference between his intellect and the theme, and confesses that he may be the target of ridicule for this effort like a dwarf trying to pluck a fruit on the high branch of a tree; then he excuses himself that he is proceeding along the path chalked out by earlier poets, like a thread following the holes on a gem made by a gem-cutter. This long prelude to the poem indicates that this was his first attempt at writing poetry.

The dynasty of the Raghus is introduced by an enumeration of the great qualities of the kings of that dynasty and the poet requests the readers to judge it with sympathy since he is persuaded to make that undertaking by the great qualities of those kings. The first king is Dilīpa, in the line starting from Manu the son of Vivasvat (the Sun), and this king is described in eighteen verses. Here we do not see the palace or the military officials or the ministers or any of the paraphernalia and pomp as emblems of royalty, but only the virtues of a noble ruler. He had no son and so he undertook a journey to the hermitage of his teacher Vasiṣṭha, in the forest. Here Kālidāsa finds ample opportunity to describe Nature, the peacocks and the antelopes and the various kinds of birds on the way. He also introduces a peasant who offers the king new milk products prepared in his cottage. On reaching the hermitage where also there are trees and birds and animals, he meets the teacher who tells him that he had once neglected to show proper respect to the divine Cow, Kāmadhenu, when he was returning from Heaven and that such a neglect of duty was the cause for the arrest of his royal line. He ad-

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vises the king to look after the daughter of that divine Cow in the forest until she would bless him with a proper boon. Here we see the king like an ordinary man, looking after a cow in the forest, in the beautiful surroundings of Nature. The cow tries his fidelity by creating an artificial lion that sits on her while she has wandered into a cave, unnoticed by the king who is admiring the grandeur of the mountain scenery. He requests the lion to spare the cow, the lion advises him to return to the hermitage since he cannot hurt the lion with any weapon in so far as he is a servant of the great God Śiva, protecting a tree there. The king offers his own body in exchange for the cow and falls flat on the ground for the lion to eat him up, and when he lifts his head since none is touching him there is only the cow and no lion. She tells him that she was only trying his fidelity and that she is pleased with his service; she asks him to suggest a boon that she may give him, and he wants nothing except that he may have a son worthy to be the starting point for a new royal dynasty. This is the theme of the first two cantos.

The queen became pregnant and a son was born, to whom the name Raghu was given. He had his education and when still a boy, the king wanted to perform a sacrifice which the lord of Heaven, Indra, did not approve, and Indra stole the horse that was let loose prior to the performance of the sacrifice. The boy who was protecting the horse chased the divine lord and in the fight that ensued, the mortal boy discharged arrows from below and the divine warrior shot the weapons from above; the boy fought so valiantly that Indra had to use his divine weapon to stop the boy's assault. He was very much pleased with his valour and returned the horse saying that his father would have the fruits of that sacrifice even without performing it. After the retirement of the king from the throne in his old age the prince Raghu became king. He undertook a march of victory round the whole of India to bring the entire country under one cultural power. Here it is the objects of Nature that form the chief theme for the description, though in a march of victory army and battle cannot be kept out completely. The rice cultivation, the palm trees, the sandal trees, the elephants and the rivers and the flowers are described in appropriate regions. After going round the whole of the present-day India through the eastern and the western coasts, Raghu reached Persia where the Yavana (Greek) damsels enjoyed their wines, where the army fought riding on horses and where the soldiers had beards and wore turbans. He marched northwards to the Oxus river where there were the Huns and then he went to Kāmboja on the north-west and to Kāshmir, where the saffron was growing in the fields. He ascended the mighty Himalayas, when he

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felt the mountain a match to him and the mountain felt him a match too. The lions, the trees, the herbs that emit a glow at night, the various tribes on the mountains, all are described, and then he reaches the eastern end in Assam and returns to his capital. This is a march of victory for the king, but it is also a Nature description in the various regions, with the customs and manners prevalent in those regions. These events form the subject matter for the third and the fourth cantos. In the fifth canto, a disciple of a great sage who has finished his education and wants to pay his fee which happens to be a large sum, approaches the king, who at that time has given away all his wealth at the close of a great sacrifice. He decides to take the necessary wealth from Kubera, the lord of wealth, a semi-divine person, and the latter is afraid of the king's invasion and fills his treasury with gold and gems at night. The king hears about this wonder in the morning from the keepers of the treasury, and gives the disciple what he wants and desires to give more, which he does not take. At this time, the king of Vidarbha decides on holding a wedding ceremony for his sister, Indumatī, at which she is to select her husband from among the assembled princes and kings. Raghu too has an invitation so that he can send his son, named Aja, for the ceremony. The prince starts on his journey, enjoys the hospitality of the common people in the villages and once makes a halt on the banks of the river Narmada. An elephant attacks the army, he discharges an arrow gently to retire him and not to kill him; the elephant turns into the form of a shining demigod. He tells the prince that he became an elephant through the curse of a sage and that he regained his nature on the touch of the prince's arrow. He instructs him in the use of some divine weapons and blesses him and wishes him all success. The prince reaches the capital of the Vidarbha country and is duly received at the entrance to the city. He spends his night comfortably after his journey and in the morning he is awakened by the bards singing about the morning, which piece, only a few verses, is recognised as one of the best in the whole range of Sanskrit literature according to tradition. This closes the fifth canto.

In the sixth canto, there is the assembly of kings and princes who had gone to the Vidarbha country as suitors for the hand of the princess. The prince Aja is there and he too takes his seat among the others. An elderly lady who knows all about the dynastic details describes the kings one by one. The princess would be able to have some enjoyment or other in the palace of the various kings. Among such enjoyments there is no mention of any royal pomp and luxuries. It is all an enjoyment of some aspect of Nature, the ocean

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wind rustling the palm-tree leaves on the east coast, the breeze from the river, the garden on the city suburbs, the hills with the peacocks dancing on the rocks in the rainy season, the sandal-wood tree on which the cardamom creepers wind round and so on. In the end Aja is accepted and in the next canto, there is a detailed description of the actual wedding ceremony. The ladies of the city crowd at the windows in the street when the pair rides on a she-elephant to go to the hall where the ceremony is to take place. After the wedding, the pair leaves for the kingdom of the bridegroom, and the disappointed kings waylay them; but Aja is equal to the occasion, and single-handed, he defeats the entire army of his enemies. They reach the palace.

The king retired and Aja became king. One day when the king and the queen Indumatī were in the garden, a garland fell on her body and she dropped down dead; the king was full of grief and was wailing and even the trees and the birds expressed their grief. The family teacher sent a message to the king to console him on this sad event; the queen was a celestial damsel and she became a mortal on account of a curse by a sage. She would return to her celestial status when a celestial garland would fall on her. At that time a pair of demigods were going along the skies and by chance a garland fell down from their hands and at its touch the queen again became a celestial damsel. He too could join her after his death. He continued his rule until the son came of age, and when he came of age with proper education, the king put him on the throne and with his Yogic powers, he cast off his body and reached the heaven where he was united with his former queen. Here a part of the epic ends and there is a very happy end.

Here there are three kings each with a clear-cut individuality. The first was devoted to his kingdom and his people and suffered life in the forest as a cowherd for the sake of his people. The second was a great warrior who fought even with the lord of the heavens as a mere boy and also concluded a march of victory over the entire country. The third was a prince who enjoyed a happy life on earth and reached heaven. There is much of Nature description also in this portion.

In six cantos, the story of Srī Rāma is described; the successor to Aja was the father of Srī Rāma, king Daśaratha. The description of his reign, the description of the Spring season and of his hunting expedition at the close of the season, form the subject matter of the ninth canto, and from the 10th canto, the story of Srī Rāma, as given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is given with fidelity in five cantos. The narration has necessarily to be rather rapid, and there are occasions

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when the poet is able to paint some very touching scenes. Srī Rāma had to go as a boy for the protection of a sacrifice and on the way back, he went to the country of Videha and married Sītā; then when they were all returning to their capital they had to face a strong enemy, Paraśu Rāma; the meeting of Srī Rāma with this adversary is beautifully and graphically painted. When towards the close Srī Rāma had his victory over his enemy Rāvaṇa who had abducted his consort during his exile in the forest, and when he was returning in an aerial car over the ocean to his capital, he showed the ocean below to his consort Sītā, and that description is recognised as one of the best in Sanskrit literature according to tradition and also according to modern judgement. Srī Rāma had to abandon his consort on account of public talk that she must have lost her purity during life in the enemy's captivity, and the scene of consultation among the brothers and the final abandonment and the message of the heroine to Srī Rāma from the forest where she was abandoned, are also very touching.

After the departure of Srī Rāma from this world, his son Kuśa became king and he changed his capital from Ayodhyā, the ancestral capital, to a new city called after him as Kuśāvatī. During sleep one night, the Spirit of the abandoned capital appeared before him in the form a young lady and gave a touching description of the pathetic condition of the deserted city after his departure. This too is a very charming section. His son Atithi succeeded him and in the sixteenth canto there is the description of Summer and of a water sport and some incidents on that occasion, which too is very beautiful. In the seventeenth canto a large number of kings are described, each in three or four verses, and such pen pictures are also very graphic. In the eighteenth canto, the last king, named Agnivarṇa, is introduced. He was a very indolent person, spending his whole time in the harem enjoying life among the women-folk, dissipating his life and ignoring the duties imposed on him as ruler. He would not even appear on the balcony to be seen by the people who thronged in the palace to have a sight of him, but would only put his feet outside through the window. His life ended in incurable diseases and he died when the queen was pregnant. The queen sat on the throne as regent. This is the close of the epic.

In this epic we see a large number of characters drawn, each with a sharply cut individuality, seen in clear relief, full of life, moving in a variety of situations, and we see also the descriptions of Nature with all its wealth and variety like seasons and forests and trees and creepers and flowers and breeze and mountains and animals and birds and rivers, with Fairies and Forest Nymphs, gods and

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men and kings and the wise people and the common men—all brought together on the same scene. It is a whole world drawn on a small scale without missing any detail and without losing any clarity of vision and perspective.

The *Raghuvaṁśa* is the greatest of Sanskrit epics of that pattern. It is simple and even children start their study of the language with portions of this epic, and yet even scholars in their mature years find enough scope for further study in this epic, finding full satisfaction for their intellect and emotion in this epic. It is full of human touches and its realism is illuminated with occasional glow of supernatural events. An epic hero and an epic theme become insipid in dry realism, and an undiluted supernaturalism removes the human interest from it. Here there is a happy combination of both in proper proportions.

b. *Kumārasambhava*

The *Kumārasambhava* is a short epic in eight cantos. It is certain that the poet had an intention of writing the further portions, and we do not know why he left the work unfinished. Some later poet completed the work and wrote also a commentary on that portion, for which there are no commentaries from earlier commentators. Kumāra is the name of the god (the word meaning young or prince) who became the leader of the army of gods and who exterminated the demons when the latter harassed the gods in Heaven. There is no prayer, there is no apology in the beginning of the epic. The epic is started straightaway and the start is with the announcement of the great mountain of Himalayas and the Spirit that presides over the mountain. This is followed by a grand description of the mountain with divine damsels and various tribes that reside there, the animals like lions and elephants, the clouds that reach up only to the half the height on the sides, the herbs that emit a glow which reaches to the inside of the caves, the breeze, the snow deposited on its tops and so on.

The mountain had a wife named Menā, and they had a son born who was named Maināka. Then was born a daughter, who was known as Pārvatī, being the daughter of *Parvata* (Mountain). It so happened that the great God Śiva had a wife named Satī, daughter of Dakṣa who was one of the *Prajāpatis* (Lords of men, the primal progenitors of humanity). She suffered some humiliation at the hands of her father and through her Yogic powers she left off her body and was born again as this daughter of the mountain Himavān, also known as the Himālayas. One day a great sage prophesied that the same great God Śiva would become her husband in

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due course. This great god had taken to permanent penance for some purpose that is inscrutable and he took up his abode on the mountains on the bank of River Ganges, a place that is described by Kālidāsa as fit for a young couple to meet and make love to each other rather than for undertaking a penance. The mountain Himavān commissioned her to go to serve the great God during his penance; she had grown up to be a very enchanting young lady and the description of her youth is very charmingly given by Kālidāsa. This is the first canto.

At this stage, a demon named Tāraka was causing much harassment to the gods, and the gods went to the Creator Brahma for protection. He told them that he had given that demon a boon that gods would not be able to kill him except a son born to Śiva, who had undertaken a penance and would not marry and have a son. He advised them that somehow they must try to create in that God some love for the young girl who was serving her so that he would marry her and have a son. The king of the gods, Indra, summoned Kāmadeva the Lord of Love and asked him to try his powers to change the mind of the God, and Kāmadeva with his wife Ratī and his attendant Vasanta (Spring season) went to the place where Śiva was sitting in penance. There is a description of the whole forest that had become silent and motionless so that there be no disturbance for the penance. Suddenly the whole forest changed its appearance, the Spring season having started out of its proper time. The young lady was approaching the God with a garland in her hand and Kāmadeva took the opportunity to discharge an arrow. The God felt a change in himself, looked around and saw Kāmadeva with his bow bent at the point of discharging the arrow and in his anger sent out flames of fire from his eyes which consumed Kāmadeva. His wife Ratī wailed bitterly at the loss of her husband. This closes the fourth canto. The description of the Spring season, the approach of Pārvatī, the burning of Kāmadeva—these are all very graphically described in the third canto and the wailing of Ratī, the wife of the dead Kāmadeva, forms the theme for a very pathetic elegy in the fourth canto.

After this frustration of all her hopes, Pārvatī decides to perform penance to propitiate the God, and her severe penance attracts the attention of the God who appears before her in the form of a young disciple. After ascertaining her intentions in undertaking such a severe self-mortification, he tries to dissuade her from it talking disparagingly of the God. She gets angry at this and asks him to depart. The God is pleased with her fidelity and promises to become her husband, and she returns to her parents. Himavān,

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her father, sends a message to the God through the great Seven Sages and the marriage is settled. Here closes the sixth canto.

In the seventh canto the great God is turned from a hermit into a young and charming bridegroom and he approaches the capital city of the King of Mountains for the wedding. There is a description of the city ladies thronging to the windows to have a sight of the bridegroom, in more or less identical words that are found in the case of the city ladies thronging to see Aja, in the seventh canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, when he entered the city for the wedding ceremony. The wedding ceremony is very graphically described in the seventh canto. In the eighth canto, there is a very detailed and charming description of their honeymoon on the mountains; yet the God was not satisfied with the enjoyment in her company. In this rather unnatural context, the text of the epic comes to a close. Some one has in later times completed the epic by adding the story of the birth of a son, Skanda or Kumāra, his leadership of the army of the gods and the final destruction of the demon.

Kālidāsa must have meant to complete the epic; the further portion of the tale is promised in the earlier parts of the epic. The *Raghuvaṁśa* is full of reminiscences of this latter portion, which shows that his mind was saturated with this ideal hero and his great martial valour, which he must have been thinking to present in the latter part of the epic. But he did not conclude it. No one accepts the view that the remaining portion, now found added, following the first eight cantos, is the work of Kālidāsa. There is a story current in Indian tradition that Pārvatī was annoyed with such a detailed and graphic and realistic description of her honeymoon and deprived Kālidāsa of his poetic talents through a curse.

In this epic we find the same philosophy of life which Kālidāsa presents in his dramas. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, a young lady who had taken to the Monastic Order, becomes the chief instrument for the union of the hero and the heroine. In the *Śākuntala*, a great sage who had renounced the world and taken to eternal celibacy becomes the fond foster-father of the heroine and works for her union with a suitable consort. Here the Great God himself is brought into the stage, and when he had decided to renounce all the affairs and interests in a worldly life, he is slowly and naturally converted into a bridegroom, and he spends his life in wedlock for a thousand years and yet he is not content. Life is real, life is important, life is valuable, life is beautiful, life is enjoyable. The highest happiness is within life on earth, and even God had shown it by his own life example.

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The descriptions in the epic are superb. There is Nature coming in for its full share. There is a combination of contrasts in situations and in characters. We see the Himalayas, a great mountain with all grandeur and at the same time we see also a majestic picture of a great emperor with his vivid personality. Gods are brought into the midst of men and are made to live the normal life of men which should be their ideal life. The realistic presentation of Nature is illuminated with the romantic glow of the supernatural. All contrasts are brought within a harmonious unit of art. Here is combined beauty with a deep philosophy.

c. *Meghadūta*

The *Meghadūta* is a small lyric in a little over one hundred verses, divided into two parts. There is practically no story. There was the demigod Kubera, living in the north in the Himalayas. He was enraged at one of his ministers since he was exceeding his powers and doomed him to exile for a year; the minister took up his residence during the period of banishment in the forests in the south where Śrī Rāma had spent his days of exile, as given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. That was his first separation from his wife; the rainy season is specially hard for lovers in separation to bear and this was their first separation. The rainy season was approaching and he saw a thick dark cloud slowly rising from the mountain sides. He decided to send a message of consolation to his beloved through the cloud that would be moving northwards, where his own home was. The poem is thus called "Cloud (*Megha*) Messenger (*Dūta*)". In the first part there is a description of the route which the cloud has to follow to reach the destination and in the second part there is a description of the city and his home and the condition of his beloved, as imagined by him, during the separation and a final message of solace promising happy life again when he would return home.

There is a personification of the objects of Nature. The cloud becomes a lover and the rivers become the beloveds. There are the village girls engaged in agriculture, unaccustomed to the city ways of showing their affection, there are the birds and the animals as his companions, there are the mountains where he could find rest. On the route, the city of Vidiśā is spoken of as the Imperial Capital famous in the whole world, and it is in this Vidiśā that the events in the story of his drama the *Mālavikāgnimitra* took place. There is a detailed description of the city of Ujjain, but no mention of a king or a palace. The description deals with the common people. The description of the city where the demigods spend a happy life is in

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contrast to the condition in which the heroine has to live in separation and in the description of the route also, there is a combination of the happiness in union between a lover and his beloved and also the sad condition during their separation; this prepares the reader for the description of the condition of the heroine in the second part. In this poem there is a combination of Nature and human emotions. The entire first part is Nature poetry and the second part contains the presentation of human emotions in certain conditions. This poem is recognised as the most beautiful lyric in Sanskrit and can stand side by side with any beautiful specimen of poetry in any language.

d. Ṛtusaṁhāra

The *Ṛtusaṁhāra* is another short lyric of Kālidāsa. There is considerable doubt about its authenticity as a work of Kālidāsa. It has not been commented upon by any one who has commented upon the other works of Kālidāsa. The quality of the poetry is also not of that standard which one finds in the other works. The work receives its name from *Ṛtu* (Season) *Saṁhāra* (Compendium); it is a brief description of the six seasons recognised in India, starting from the *Grīṣma* (Summer) and ending with the *Vasanta* (Spring). The Indian year, starting from the Spring Equinox starts also with the Spring season; but here the Spring season is put to the last, being the most important season from the point of view of poets.

It is not a mere description of the seasons; what is more important is that there is a combination of man's emotional states in the various seasons from the point of view of man's love for women. There is such a change in his emotional moods and also in the way in which the emotions exhibit themselves, between season and season. Here there is another aspect of the theme found in his *Meghadūta*, the combination of Nature with man's life and man's emotional states in the varying conditions of Nature. Here there is beauty in poetry, though the poem does not rise to the standards of Kālidāsa as found in the other works. Thus, there is a description of the Autumn (*Śarat*) in the fourth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, prior to the hero's undertaking the march of victory and there is the description of the Spring (*Vasanta*) in the *Kumārasambhava* when Kāmadeva (Lord of Love) with his wife Ratī and his companion *Vasanta* (Spring) approaches the great God to tempt Him. The descriptions of the seasons in the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* do not come up to these standards. Nor is Nature so beautifully dealt with as in his other works. Yet the work is generally recognised as a genuine poem of Kālidāsa.

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(iv) OBSERVATIONS

Kālidāsa is a poet of the people, wrote about the people and for the people. It is true that he wrote about kings and gods, and it is also said by some that he wrote for the kings and those who surrounded the kings. The fact is that at the time when Kālidāsa wrote his poetry, the kings had become a very important factor in the life of the people and he could not ignore such an important factor in the life of the people when he wrote about the people and for the people. The poets of the *Vedas* did not write their poetry about kings, and if they wrote poetry about gods, the gods became the companions of the people in their poetry. There are kings too mentioned in the Vedic poetry; but they appear only as the representatives of the culture of the people, as representatives of the genius of the people. The kings never dominated the life of the people; if any one had any dominating position in the Vedic life, it was the poets. But a change came over the general set-up of the life of the people from Vedic times, and the purpose of the great poets of the Classical Age was to restore the Vedic condition of the dominance of the people in their own affairs, to restore the equality of the common people and of the kings and of gods. When the world is a reality, when life is important, the common people also become important in the set-up of life. But when the world is presented as insignificant, when life is presented as an accident, when the real goal is presented as outside of the world and of life, some people exploit the common people, and they are the kings and the priests. The kings assume an important position as patrons of the new doctrines, and the people do not mind such a dominance of kings in a world that is unreal and in a life that is only an accident; they are content that according to the new doctrine, they have a goal outside of the world and of life and that the kings are helping them towards that destination of absolute happiness. The priests also joined the kings and brought in gods to prominence as saviours of humanity. The priests promised Heaven to the common people and asked them to ignore the world and the affairs of the world and to devote themselves to finding out the path which they could have through the religion of which the priests were the custodians. Thus both the kings and the priests worked out in mutual collaboration a scheme of national life where they could exploit the common people and remain dominant in the life of the people.

Kālidāsa found the kings and gods as readily available material and he took them and made use of them as material for art. The kings were presented as noble men freed from palaces and luxuries and all the emblems and paraphernalia of imperial pomp.

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They worked for the people, moved among the people and lived like the common people. They were presented as valiant heroes, warriors with martial exploits excelling even the gods, endowed with all the human traits and human emotions and human cravings and human failings. They defended the borders of the country against any aggression, through their martial qualities and consolidated the cultural wealth of the country so that the country remained a single unit. They encouraged and helped education and set an example to the people in their own education and cultural equipments. They worked for the prosperity of the country and for the welfare of the people, and they took on themselves full responsibility for any suffering or loss among the people. They maintained law and order according to the principles and there was no distinction between relatives and strangers in the matter of dispensing with justice. The kings in Kālidāsa are not autocrats, they are great and noble persons.

The priests also had come to stay as an important factor in the life of the people at the time when Kālidāsa made his appearance. But he turned them again into good and useful citizens functioning in the national life for the good of the people. That is what we find in Vasiṣṭha in the *Raghuvaṁśa,* in Kaṇva in the *Śākuntala* and in the young lady in the *Mālavikāgnimitra,* who had joined the Monastic Order. Not one of them misled the people along the paths towards some unattainable goals or towards goals that are not worthwhile to look for. They gave the people sound counsel so that they could lead a happy life in this world and in this life. They prepared persons in their charge for a normal and useful life in this world; that is what we find in the case of the heroine and her two companions in the *Śākuntala.* They were also practical men having a good grasp of the realities of the world and having a correct sense of true values.

Gods too had become rather prominent at that time. Gods appear in the works of Kālidāsa; but they are not the terrible beings sitting far high up, aloof from man and his world. We find Indra, the king of the gods as rather a weak person standing in need of the help of the kings on the earth in his battles against the demons and we find heroes on the earth, like the prince who fought against Indra in the third canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa,* standing against Indra even in very unfavourable positions for fight. The Great God Śiva in the *Kumārasambhava* changes from an ascetic into a bridegroom. He is always presented as the *Ardhanārīśvara* (*Ardha* = half; *Nārī* = woman; *Īśvara* = Lord), the great God with half of himself as a woman. He represents the full life of man in the world. There is no element of "Evil" arising out of woman for man and on the

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other hand equal sharing with a woman is necessary for a full life: this is what the God represents as the ideal of life.

The world is not a place of sin and suffering. The world is beautiful and life in the world contains within itself all the potentialities for full happiness for man in his life. There is no need to look outside of the world and of life for happiness. Thus, Kālidāsa describes Nature with all its beauties and glories. Man on earth is happier than gods in Heaven, and in the *Vikramorvaśīya,* there is the philosophy of life presented that the damsels in Heaven covet the companionship of man on earth for happiness. It is not gods, it is not kings and it is not priests, it is the poets that know what happiness is and where happiness is. The common people are also presented along with Nature as forming an integral and valuable part of this world of beauty and happiness. The common people are brought face to face with kings and priests and even gods, and they are equal to the latter and sometimes even superior to them.

There are different theories about aesthetics also revealed in the works of Kālidāsa. There are beautiful things in the world that are suited to Art. Everything in the world is suited for Art and there is nothing that is ugly in itself and unsuited for Art. What appears ugly becomes beautiful when brought into an assemblage of things that are accepted as beautiful. Beauty is in the arrangement, in the assemblage and not in the things that are arranged or assembled. Beauty is indescribable and can only be experienced in the heart. A beautiful thing adds beauty to what are supposed to be beautifying objects in the world. There is a contrast between a poet's creation and the creations of the Creator, and the former is superior to the latter. Kālidāsa is a poet and an artist because he is also a literary critic and an art critic.

Kālidāsa is reckoned along with the authors of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of the *Mahābhārata,* the great poets Vālmīki and Veda Vyāsa, forming a trio. He moulded the life of the people, he guided the people in their life, he changed their life and presented new ideals of life, he showed the values in life in their correct proportion and with a correct perspective. He is a great poet; he is a true poet. It is no wonder that he attained a fame as a poet in India, unequalled by any later poet in India and not lesser than the fame attained by any poet in any language.

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VI. MAHĀKĀVYA

(i) GENERAL

The *Mahākāvya* is the Grand (*Mahā*) Poetry (*Kāvya*) in Sanskrit. It may be termed the "Grand Epic". The pattern is something unique in the Sanskrit language, without a real parallel in any other languages, just like the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas*. The *Mahākāvya* or the Grand Epic too has, like the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas*, some points of contact with the literary patterns found in other languages; but there is no absolute parity. In point of size, the Grand Epics correspond to the epics of other languages like the epics of Homer and The *Paradise Lost*. But there are variations from such models also, found in the Grand Epics of Sanskrit. In the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas*, there is the metre predominating, which is known as the Epic Metre, verses of four lines, each line having eight syllables. This is only the predominant metre in the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas* and not the uniform metre. In the epics of other languages, there is a uniform metre. In the Grand Epics, there is no such predominant metre even. There is a variety of metres employed, changing from canto to canto, though sometimes the same metre continues in two cantos without a break; but there is a new metre introduced to mark the close of a canto.

In the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas*, the work is divided into Books each book being again divided into chapters or cantos. But in the Grand Epics of Sanskrit, as in the epics of other languages, there is only a division of the whole work into Books or Cantos with no further sub-division. In the matter of the treatment of the theme too, there is a closer parallelism between the Grand Epics of Sanskrit and the epics of other languages. In the *Purāṇas*, there is nothing that can be called a central theme; the entire lore of the period is introduced into the Purāṇas with stories of the great heroes of old coming in as an integral factor with the other items of the ancient lore. Even in the *Itihāsas*, where there is a central theme like the story of a great hero of old, there is also a predominant portion of such ancient lore coming in, though such lore does not eclipse the central theme in the form of the story of an ancient hero. But in the Grand Epics, as in the epics of other languages, the central theme dominates the poem entirely, and the descriptions are only integral factors within the central theme and not external factors associated with it. There are no narrations of

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side-stories, there are no discourses on various subjects that arrest for the time being the main narration of the story of the hero, so far as the Grand Epics of Sanskrit are concerned, just like the epics of other languages. The Grand Epics of Sanskrit are nearer to the epics of other languages than are the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas;* the latter are a type by themselves without a parallel in other languages, in spite of the similarity of metres in the epics of the languages and the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas* of Sanskrit on account of a predominant metre.

We do not know when the Grand Epic made its appearance in Sanskrit. There is no such pattern found in the *Vedas*. Perhaps many of the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* of the Vedic period, found mentioned in the Vedic literature, being stories about great heroes, might have been close to this pattern of Grand Epics. The great grammarian Pāṇini, gives rules for the formation of the names of literary works from the name of the author and from the theme, and it is not unlikely that many of them belonged to this pattern. There is the mention of the "Poetry of Vararuci" in works on grammar and there is nothing improbable that it is a specimen of the Grand Epic type. There are citations from poetical works found in the grammatical work of Patañjali, and here too there is a likelihood of some of the citations being from some Grand Epics. We can only make surmises.

When we come to recent times in the history of Sanskrit literature near about the beginning of the Christian Era, we find evidence of the prevalence of the *Mahākāvya* (Grand Epic) in the language. We have the *Mahākāvyas* of Kālidāsa and of Aśvaghoṣa. We do not know the date of Kālidāsa; if his date is earlier than the beginning of the Christian Era, being a contemporary of Agnimitra, the hero in his drama called the *Mālavikāgnimitra,* then his poems are the earliest available specimens of the Grand Epic. If his date is in the fourth or fifth century of the Christian Era, being a contemporary of the Gupta emperors of Magadha, then he is later than Aśvaghoṣa, whose date is more or less definitely settled as in the border of the first and second centuries of the Christian Era, he being a contemporary of the *Śaka* king Kaniṣka. In so far as Kālidāsa has already been dealt with in the previous chapter, the first author to be taken up in dealing with the Grand Epics in Sanskrit is Aśvaghoṣa.

Slightly later than this, there has grown up a rich literature relating to literary criticism in Sanskrit, and they all mention this pattern as the real high-class poetry in Sanskrit, just as Aristotle speaks of the epic as the high-class poetry. The poetry of this type

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must be sufficiently long and divided into cantos (*Sargas*). The theme must also be grand being the story of a great hero. The points taken up for descriptions also must be grand, suitable for the grand theme. The writers on literary criticism give certain specimens of subjects that may thus be introduced into a Grand Epic for purposes of description, like a city or an ocean or a mountain. If in a Grand Epic there is the description of a bird with its feathers and its colour and its musical note introduced as a major item or if there is the description of a flower, there is no concord between the grand theme and the point. But a bird or a flower can come into the picture if the picture is that of a garden or of a mountain with its forests. In poetry there must be this concord kept up between the main theme and the parts introduced to decorate that theme.

In the matter of metre also there must be some correspondence between the length of the poem and the length of the metres used. If a long poem like the *Itihāsas* or the *Purāṇas* is written in long metres, such long metres arrest the notion of movement in that poetry, and in a very long poem there must be some brisk movement. Similarly, if a short poem is written in small metres, we must rush through the brisk movement in such a small span. Thus, short metres are conducive to the notion of brisk movement and long metres are conducive to the notion of slow movement. In a Grand Epic, which is short relative to the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*, but long in relation to the minor poetry (*Laghu-Kāvya*), there must be adopted a metre which is neither very short nor very long. For this reason, the metres of lines with eleven and twelve syllables predominate in the Grand Epic; there is a large variety even with this metrical scheme, and they are all made use of predominantly in the Grand Epics. The short metre of eight-syllabic lines is also used in the *Mahākāvya* (Grand Epic), while the long metres of fifteen syllables and above in a line are not used in a whole canto, though they are made use of at the close of a canto or for variety even within a canto. Thus, in the Grand Epics of Sanskrit there is a very happy combination of grandeur and movement, brought about by the nature of the theme and the nature of metres adopted.

(ii) AŚVAGHOṢA

Aśvaghoṣa is known to be a Buddhist, a great poet and dramatist and philosopher. But he is best known for his poetry; his works in the field of philosophy are also known and some of his dramas too are discovered recently. He is a Buddhist to the extent that his themes are taken from the life of Buddha. In the two Grand

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Epics that he has written the life history of Buddha or some incident in his life forms the theme. His two poems are the *Buddha-carita* (Buddha's Life) and *Saundara-nanda* (the name of Buddha's half-brother whom later he converted into his Order). In the *Buddha-carita,* there is given the life of Buddha and in the *Saundara-nanda* there is described how his half-brother who ascended the throne when he renounced life and organised a Monastic Order, was converted into the Order he organised. At the end of the second poem the poet definitely says that he chose the poetic style only to attract the people, like a sugar-coated medicine and that his real purpose was to show the people the worthlessness of worldly life and to turn their attention to the True Path.

Aśvaghoṣa was a true poet and he wrote good poetry; but he meant to make a sermon. As a poet he knew the genius of the Indian people. A dry sermon or an epistle from a priest can have no effect on the Indian people, and poetry is the only language specimen that can touch the heart of the nation. He had the example of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the Vedic Path and he might have had also the example of poetical works like the *Lalita-vistara* and the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, dealing with the life and teachings of Buddha. When practically the entire stock of literature relating to Buddhism in Sanskrit disappeared, the poetical works continued. It is poetry that lasts, and a teaching has permanence only when it forms the theme for poetry. Thus, Aśvaghoṣa is a true representative of the genius of the nation—a nation of poets led by poets.

a. Buddha-carita

The *Buddha-carita* is a long epic poem dealing with the life of Buddha. The whole poem has not yet been discovered. Now we have the text for seventeen cantos; but the last four cantos are not genuine, having been added by a recent poet named Amṛtananda who could not get a complete copy and made the addition. There are translations in Tibetan and in Chinese made in the fifth century A.D.; they contain twenty-eight cantos. The whole text must have been current in India even in the seventh century, as the Chinese traveller I-tsing must have known the entire poem. Now the genuine text has only thirteen cantos. It has become a very popular text in recent times and the work has been translated by various scholars into the various modern languages. Modern scholars have a decided partiality for the poem, and from the point of view of genuine admiration among modern scholars, it is more popular than even the works of Kālidāsa.

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The available portion relates to the early days of Buddha, up to his forming the Monastic Order and starting the conversion of people into his new Order of Monks. This portion gives the author plenty of scope to show his skill in descriptions, both of Nature and of human feelings. The descriptions are superb, giving a very clear picture of the objects in language that is both simple and lucid. The technique of Grand Epic is very studiously maintained; the metres used are also simple as in the other Grand Epics, and there is the change of metre at the close of a canto and also from canto to canto. The narration is richly embellished with many colourful descriptions, and such descriptions do nowhere arrest the movement in the narration; there is a very notable balance between the descriptions and the movements in the narration. The figures of speech are also very apt and give beauty to the poem and never overshadow the inherent beauty of the poetry.

b. *Saundara-nanda*

The *Saundara-nanda* is his other Grand Epic, and is in eighteen cantos. The whole work is available. It deals with the city of Kapilavastu where Śuddhodana, the father of Buddha was the king, the birth of Sarvārthasiddhi, who later became Buddha and of his half-brother Nanda, the detailed description of Buddha, the description of Sundarī who married Nanda, the departure of Nanda renouncing the world and his admission to the Order of Monks formed by Buddha, various obstacles to his remaining in the Order like the grief of his queen Sundarī and his own reluctance to give up the world and his desire to resume a worldly life, his pleadings in favour of a worldly life and so on. On the other hand there is the persuasion of Buddha discoursing on the sins abiding in women with flattery on their lips and treachery in their hearts, and on the evils of pride associated with the life of heroes; then Buddha carries Nanda to Heaven where he is charmed by the nymphs and desires to have one of them as his mate; Buddha advises him to win Heaven through good deeds. Thereafter Ānanda, a disciple of Buddha, tells him that even heavenly joy has an end and asks him to seek the instructions of Buddha as the Path to eternal happiness. Nanda determines to engage himself to teach the doctrines of Buddha to others besides seeking salvation for himself.

c. *Comments*

Of the two Grand Epics composed by Aśvaghoṣa, the *Saundara-nanda* is taken to be the earlier, though there is no real evidence to settle their relative chronology. One finds a greater amount of sere-

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nity and seriousness in the *Buddha-carita* than in the *Saundara-nanda,* which shows that the *Buddha-carita* belongs to a mature stage in his life. Neither of them refers to the other by name. In one of Aśvaghoṣa's works belonging to philosophy, there is a mention of the *Buddha-carita* and there is no reference to the *Saundara-nanda;* this is no evidence that the *Buddha-carita* is earlier and that the *Saundara-nanda* came later than even the work on philosophy. The preference to the *Buddha-carita* is due to the context.

The language in both the epics is more or less uniform, simple and elegant, lucid and chaste, free from long compounds or from any profession of rare and difficult grammatical forms. The meanings are very clearly expressed. Yet there is a deliberate attempt to handle the language in a particular way to produce some effects. There is a class of alliteration known as *Yamaka,* where three or more syllables are repeated, the two sets forming different words with different meanings. This kind of sound-embellishment is very common in both his works, and it is found more often in the *Saundara-nanda* than in the *Buddha-carita.* This play on words is used in a whole canto in the former, while it comes very frequently in the latter. In the *Saundara-nanda,* there is a deliberate introduction of the poet's erudition in the ancient lore of India, various names of sages and of poets of the ancient times, the Vedic rituals and customs and manners, stories about the heroes of old and so on. Although this lore is found in the *Buddha-carita* also, it is not so deliberately brought into the *Buddha-carita,* where his dexterity in handling the language and his command of ancient lore appear in a more natural way, and not so artificially introduced as in the *Saundara-nanda.* This shows that the *Saundara-nanda* must be an earlier work and that the *Buddha-carita* must be a late work of his mature days. In his works we see the great reverence which the poet had for the Vedic literature and Vedic culture. There is nothing in the poems that can be taken as an indication of the poet's dissatisfaction of the Vedic religion and Vedic rituals and Vedic practices and Vedic customs. It is usually said that Buddhism is a revolt against the Vedic rituals and Vedic customs and Vedic practices; there can be no doubt about the fact that the poet is a true representative of the ideals of Buddha's teachings. Yet no follower of the Vedic Path can detect in his poems anything that goes against the Vedic beliefs and the Vedic practices.

The only thing in which there is a clear difference between this poet and the poets of the Vedic Path, taking Kālidāsa as a representative of the latter, is that in Kālidāsa there is no purpose in poetry, although his poetry serves a noble purpose, showing the

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True Path to the people. Kālidāsa does not say what that Path is, while Aśvaghoṣa expressly states his purpose at the end of his *Saundara-nanda:* "Thus, this work has been undertaken, containing within it the goal called Beatitude (*Mokṣa*), keeping in view serenity and not pleasure, in order that the hearers may grasp it. Whatever things I have introduced here other than what serves Beatitude, it has been done as a factor in poetry, in order that like a bitter medicine mixed with honey, it may be agreeable to the heart in drinking." We never see such a purpose stated in the works of poets like Kālidāsa. Further, in Kālidāsa the goal is never spoken of as a bitter medicine and the pleasures of the world as a sugar-coating. To Kālidāsa, the world is sweet and its enjoyment is the goal, the bitter element being what are not natural in the world and to the life in the world.

We do not know how the *Buddha-carita* ended; we have only a half of the work now available. In that part, we see Buddha in his palace surrounded by all the luxuries of the world, his dissatisfaction with the environment, his eagerness to gain some permanent happiness that transcends the worldly pleasures and his departure from the palace. His actual teachings are not included within the available portion. In the *Saundara-nanda* we see Buddha's half-brother who ascended the throne, in the same surroundings in which Buddha himself lived in the palace as heir-apparent. Nanda, the half-brother of Buddha, wavers between worldly life and renunciation and is charmed by the pleasures of Heaven, and it is only towards the end that we find his choice of the goal of Beatitude. Perhaps in the hands of a poet like Kālidāsa, the end would have been quite different. But the available portions, except the final canto, describe what Kālidāsa too would have described. There is the difference between the end in the *Saundara-nanda* and the end that we find in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa,* where the heroes return and sit on the throne, after their exile and their sufferings. There is no poem written by poets like Kālidāsa where there is a denunciation of the life of man on earth and a glorification of Beatitude as the True Goal. But this difference does not make the text anything that is not acceptable to or that is to be rejected by, the followers of the Vedic Path. But such a presentation of the problems of life did not appeal to the nation, the nation being happy in life and unwilling to escape from this world to another region or another condition. This is perhaps the reason for the poems losing their popularity in the nation. There are no ancient commentaries, nor references in later literature or later works on literary criticism. Both are good poems with a sermon that cannot find its way into the heart of the nation.

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(iii) KUMĀRADĀSA

Kumāradāsa is the author of a Grand Epic called the *Jānakī-haraṇa*. Jānakī is another name of the heroine of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, named Sītā, who was the daughter of King Janaka. So *Jānakī-haraṇa* means Jānakī's (i.e., Sītā's) Abduction (*Haraṇa*). In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the hero Srī Rāma was living in the forest as an exile from his kingdom and at that time his queen Sītā was abducted by the demon Rāvaṇa. It is this incident that gave the name to the poem, which deals with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. For a long time the poem was known only by name. There was a very faithful translation in the Sinhalese language and there was also current a tradition that the author Kumāradāsa was a king of Ceylon. The tradition also says that Kālidāsa was a great friend of the king of Ceylon and that it was really Kālidāsa who wrote the poem. But they are all stories.

The poet says at the end of his poem that his father died in battle on the day he was born and that his two maternal uncles brought him up. There is also a tradition that he was blind. We do not know definitely in which kingdom he was the king. Scholars do not now identify the poet with the king of Ceylon. We are certain that Kumāradāsa came after Kālidāsa; but this is no help for us to determine his date, as the date of Kālidāsa is not finally settled. We can with confidence say that he was round about 500 A.D. and not at all later than that date; perhaps he was a little earlier, we do not know how far.

In language, in the metres that he adopts, in the descriptions, in the entire technique of the epic, the influence which Kālidāsa must have exerted on the poet is quite plain. The poem is full of very brief descriptions in a large number of contexts. Although in the main the poet closely follows the story as it is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, he is quite original in his presentation of the theme. There are hundreds and hundreds of works dealing with the same theme and yet the presentations have an originality in each case. Nature, seasons and other phenomena, mental and emotional states—all such points are very aptly introduced for descriptions, and the descriptions are all very beautiful and original, though influenced by Kālidāsa. He must have been a great scholar and grammarian, and his command of grammar is very prominently noticeable in his poem; but he is never pedantic in his use of the language. He ranks as among the best poets, and in tradition, he is brought into an equal position with Kālidāsa and his *Raghuvaṁśa*.

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(iv) BHĀRAVI

Tradition in India speaks of five Grand Epics (*Pañca-mahā-kāvya*). The two epics of Kālidāsa, namely, the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Kumāra-sambhava*, the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi, the *Śiśu-pāla-vadha* of Māgha and the *Naiṣadhīya-carita* of Śrī Harṣa are the five well-known Grand Epics in Sanskrit, held as superior to all the hundreds of epics found in Sanskrit. The two epics of Kālidāsa form a pair and the *Śiśupāla-vadha* of Māgha and the *Naiṣadhīya-carita* of Śrī Harṣa form another pair, being specimens of poems that are a test for scholars. The *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi stands between these two pairs, and though it has been admired by scholars throughout the history of Sanskrit literature, it has not attained that fame and popularity which the other four have secured, the first pair for beauty and the second pair for scholarly eminence. Yet in a sense, I will give this poem as high a position as any other poem, not only in Sanskrit but also in any language of the world. Its grandeur of theme, majesty of style, profundity of thought, nobility of purpose, spirit of martial heroism, expressions of strong emotions, clear character delineations and beautiful Nature descriptions make this one of the greatest poems; its profundity of thought has been specially recognised in Indian tradition.

Kirātas are a tribe that live in the mountains, especially on the Himalayas. Arjuna is the third among the five brothers who, as heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, came out triumphant in the Great War described in it. The God Śiva took the form of a Kirāta (Hunter) and the poem derives its name from this Hunter who was the great God Śiva himself and Arjuna, the hero of the poem. It is truly an epic of martial heroism, without a parallel in any other poem. The noble purpose is not expressly stated in so many words; but it is quite patent in the way in which the theme is developed. The purpose is to teach that one must defeat his enemy through valour which is the great virtue in man when applied in winning back one's natural rights. It is not enough if one secures his rights; he must win it through valour. In Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the hero, Satan, appears in the beginning as a grand figure; but he counsels and adopts "guile" as the means for winning back what he has lost. From this point onwards, there is a change and a fall and the hero who appeared as grand becomes an insignificant person in comparison to God whose rival he desired to be. In the *Kirātārjunīya*, there is consistency in characterisation and nobility in the means adopted, namely, open war.

Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the five brothers, lost his kingdom and all his possessions through a defeat in gambling with his rival who

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played foul, and he had to go to the forest as an exile. The story begins at this stage. He sends a secret agent to know the condition of the kingdom under the rule of his rival who had come in possession of it through guile. The agent, who was a dweller in the forest, returns after collecting information. We first come face to face with an ordinary forest dweller as a very intelligent person to whom any responsible duty can be entrusted. The king has been wanting to take the necessary steps to regain his kingdom after defeating the enemy; but he wants to be sure of success and that is why he sends a messenger to the country to know the actual state of affairs. He must take proper action at the proper time; there are times when one should wait and there are other times when he can take immediate action.

The messenger returned with ample information collected and made a full report of the happy conditions in the country during the reign of his enemy. There was prosperity and contentment, justice and security. But this was only apparent and there were signs of fear in the heart of the enemy about the possible turn of events when Yudhiṣṭhira would return and claim his kingdom back. Hearing this success of the enemy, Draupadī the queen could not bear the humiliation and she made a strong plea for action instead of waiting, trying to kindle up the wrath and the sense of heroism in the king. She drew the contrast between their condition in the palace and in the forest. She advised guile towards those who took to guile against themselves, which is the only way to avoid danger. There is no meaning in keeping up engagements entered into with those who resort to crooked methods, and those who look for victory sometimes break such engagements under some plea or other. Forbearance as a means for happiness and success is resorted to by ascetics and not by kings. If the kings think of forbearance as the way to happiness, the best thing is to throw away the bow and arrow and spend the rest of their time in the forest making oblations in fire. There is fervent pleading, scolding, cajoling, taunting, threats and every sort of device which a woman can think of to persuade the king to take to heroism in such a state of calamity and humiliation. This is one of the most impassionate appeals one can think of, with strong language expressing emotional outbursts. Here closes the first canto.

Then Bhīma, the eldest among the four brothers of Yudhiṣṭhira, starts his arguments, appealing to reason and to the learning of Yudhiṣṭhira, drawing attention to the dangers of postponement of action when the enemy may grow in strength. Even if they regain their kingdom through the good grace of their enemy at the close

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of the period of agreement, it is not worthwhile to accept it when they all have their powerful arms. He cites lions who eat only the elephant that they themselves kill and not a dead elephant, he cites the lion that roars when the clouds thunder, as instances of the value of heroism even in Nature. Yudhiṣṭhira pays his compliments to the logic in the pleadings of Bhīma, but advocates patience. "One shall do nothing in haste; indiscretion is the supreme place for dangers. The riches of victory adopt such persons who do things only after proper thought, in so far as such riches are what are sought after by virtues." At this stage when he was trying to appease his brother who, like a maddened elephant, was enwrapped in fury, Veda Vyāsa, the great sage, made his appearance all of a sudden, and this closes the second canto.

Veda Vyāsa made an analytical presentation of the actual situation. He said, "The country can be gained by you only through your martial valour; but the enemy is far superior in heroism, armament and military strength. So you must take steps to attain superiority in such matters. Verily, in a war, the lustre of victory depends on superiority in military equipment." He advised Yudhiṣṭhira that for attaining such military superiority, Arjuna, the third among the five brothers, should perform penance to propitiate the god Śiva and secure from him through his valour, the divine weapon of *Pāśupata*. Arjuna accepted the mission and he took leave of his brothers and especially the queen *Draupadī* who, like a fond mother, encouraged him in his mission and asked him not to think of his separation from them. Thus, the great warrior hero of the epic is introduced in the third canto.

His journey to the Himalayas where he was to take up his abode for the penance, the jealousy of the king of gods, who was his own father, about the power which a mortal hero might secure, his efforts to break off the severe penance by sending the celestial nymphs to tempt him and their failure, his own effort to personally dissuade the hero from continuing the penance, his final approval of the penance, the test by the god to assess the hero's worth to be the recipient of that divine weapon and the final success in securing the weapon, form the subject matter of the rest of the epic.

The God took up the robes of a hunter and the Goddess also took up the robes of the hunter's wife, and they approached the hero; there was a boar that appeared close to the hero, and both the hunter God and the hero discharged arrows to kill the animal. When the animal fell near the hero, the hunter also claimed it, and there ensued a fight between them. The hero fought so valiantly that the hunter God had to take up his own divine weapon to defeat

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the hero, and the hero fell under the stroke of that mighty missile thrown by the God. The God was immensely pleased at his valour and his ability to withstand his own weapon without being killed by it, and he gave him the great divine weapon called the *Pāśupata.* All the gods were present there at that moment and they all blessed him and gave him separate divine weapons. Arjuna, the great hero, triumphant in his mission, decided to return to his brothers.

This is an outline of the Grand Epic of Bhāravi. From the beginning to the end it is full of martial heroism. Yudhiṣṭhira is usually presented as weak and forbearing; but here he is a valiant hero determined to have victory over the enemies; the only difference between him on one side and his brothers and queen on the other side is about the method, whether to start immediately against the enemy or to wait and be prepared. Veda Vyāsa gave the decision striking a mean between the two extremes of waiting till the time the agreement expired and immediate war; Yudhiṣṭhira had a feeling that perhaps it would be possible to get back the kingdom without a war. His queen and brothers wanted an immediate war. Veda Vyāsa struck the mean.

Bhāravi's date is not known. His name is found mentioned in an inscription along with that of Kālidāsa, as a great poet, dated in the beginning of the seventh century. It is likely that he belonged to the beginning of the fifth century, at the time of the Gupta Emperors. There is a story current about the third emperor in the Gupta dynasty that when he was surrounded by the Śaka kings, he promised to hand over his queen Dhruvasvāminī to his enemy to secure his own personal freedom. In the discourse of Draupadī pleading for heroism, there appears to be a reference to this event when she says that Yudhiṣṭhira's action in allowing the enemy to get possession of his kingdom is like a king allowing the enemy to take away his own queen. This is likely to be an allusion to that event. Then he might have lived not long after that event. At that time the foreigners like the Śakas and Huns were invading the country, and the people and some of the kings were meek and preferred to surrender to the foreigner than to take the risk of a war. Bhāravi desired to rouse the traditional heroism of the nation, and in his Grand Epic, he took up that task. He does not expressly state his mission; but his mission is quite clear in the Epic.

The style in the epic is what can be styled grand and majestic consistent with the nature of the theme. A simple, elegant style is not suited to an atmosphere of martial heroism. But the language is lucid and chaste. Grandeur of style and majesty of language and profundity of thought do not bring in any element of obscurity in

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the expression. The poet was perhaps thinking of his own style when Yudhiṣṭhira in the second canto speaks of the advocacy of his brother Bhīma: "Lucidity has not been put aside by the words nor has profundity of meaning been not kept up; to each word there is a specific significance assigned, and yet the unity of sense has not been dispensed with anywhere." This can very well be said about the whole poem.

Bhāravi was neither a priest nor an ascetic with a mission. He never says that his purpose is such and such. Yet his mission is successful on account of this silence. The teaching comes to the readers from within, and that is the poet's way. A poet never issues a sermon or an order. He works out the change from within the reader, and the reader does not know that there is an agency functioning outside. There is martial heroism from beginning to end. There is no order to march; the reader feels the impulse to march as springing from within himself.

In the beginning of the epic there is the glorious description of the very beneficent government of Suyodhana who got possession of the kingdom through unfair means. That is really a foreign rule, and a foreign rule is in most cases far more beneficent than a self-government. But a foreign rule carries with it the seeds of ruin within it. It is not unlikely that when the foreign invaders like the Śakas and the Huns invaded the country and established their own rule in various parts of the country, people in such parts were happier than the people in countries ruled by their own kings. Bhāravi wanted also to make an appeal to the people of such countries who accepted the foreign rule, being content with the good government. Bhāravi was a national leader who wrote poetry to appeal to the nation that could respond only to poets and not to the sermons of priests and to the commands of conquerors. Bhāravi presents the true genius of the people, the spirit of heroism that never surrendered to priests and emperors. There is combined in it the beauty of poetry, the grandeur of the theme and also the nobility of a great purpose.

Besides his worship of martial heroism, there is another very interesting point in his epic and that is the denunciation of asceticism that is usually practised, renouncing the world and seeking for a goal outside of life and of this world. When the hero was engaged in severe penance, Indra, the Lord of Heaven, himself went to him, since he failed to deflect him from that firm determination through the charms of the celestial nymphs; he began to taunt him about his new form of penance. The hero had his martial costume and bore his bow and arrows when he was in his posture of penance.

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Indra drew his attention to this conflict in his deeds and his external form. The hero replied that people generally perform such severe penance for selfish ends by seeking a path to escape from the sins and sufferings of the world. But his purpose was not of that nature; he wanted to win back his lost kingdom, and that is the work of a warrior, and as a warrior he was wearing the robes of a warrior and was bearing the weapons of a warrior. Such a reply pleased Indra, and Indra assured him that the great God would bestow the divine weapon on him.

Aśvaghoṣa wanted to preach religion and renunciation and asceticism and final release; he was sorry about the tastes of the people around who found poetry as sweet and religion as bitter. So he had to cover up this pill with a sugar-coating. He expressly stated his mission. Bhāravi found the world beautiful. He noted that asceticism and self-mortification had become settled facts in life. So he took hold of these settled facts in the form of renunciation and self-mortification and converted them into methods of attaining victory in the world, just as Kālidāsa converted the ascetics into agents for bringing about the union of young people. Bhāravi's religion is quite plain in his poetry, the religion of worshipping martial heroism and of fighting one's way through active life in the world.

But there are some points of contact between Aśvaghoṣa and Bhāravi and also some differences between Bhāravi and Kālidāsa. In Kālidāsa we seldom see any effort to show off his skill in handling language, by way of the various kinds of alliterations and other devices. It is only in the ninth canto of his *Raghuvaṁśa* that we see, during the first half, the alliteration known as *Yamaka,* where three or more syllables are repeated. In the earlier cantos of the same work we see some other kinds of alliteration repeating two syllables. But they are rare. In the works of Aśvaghoṣa, play on words and effort at producing some sense of embellishment through the manipulation of sounds have become integral parts in the art of poetry. Descriptions also had become more prominent than in the poetry of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa never lingers on over a whole canto in any description; there is proper proportion between the theme and its movement on one side and the description on the other side. But in the poetry of Aśvaghoṣa, the embellishments in the form of descriptions sometimes assume more importance than the movement of the story that is meant to be embellished.

The same is the case with Bhāravi also. The description of the journey of the hero to the place on the mountain where he was to perform the penance occupies two cantos, and the description of the celestial nymphs attempting through their sports and dances

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and other devices to distract the hero from his firm penance takes a few cantos. This change is due to a change in the public taste. This change is found in music and in dance also. The artists tried to manipulate music and dance to show off their dexterity in handling the subject matter with all its details, presenting the various shades in the changes that can be brought about in the details; there is repetition in the theme, while there is variety in the aspects of the theme.

In the matter of the description of Nature also, Kālidāsa presented what he felt in his heart while the later poets presented what they knew in their erudition. Nature had lost its life, though the beauty of Nature was retained; this beauty became what the poet knew from books and not from observing Nature. This is so in the poetry of Aśvaghoṣa, this is so in the poetry of Bhāravi. There is too much of hyperbole, and with this enwrapping, Nature ceases to be Nature. Thus, if in the strong winds in the meadows, the pollen of flowers collect together, rise up as a beam into air and then spread out on the top, and if this is compared to the formation of a golden umbrella, there is dexterity in handling the theme; but this is not Nature. As a matter of fact Bhāravi is called "Umbrella-Bhāravi" *(Chatra-Bhāravi)* for such a description.

But Bhāravi is a close student of human nature and a very successful exponent of human emotions. His characterisation is superb. While he took Nature from what he saw in books and not in the world, he took his characters from earlier books and moulded them properly and presented them as his true creations; the characters in the old books from which Bhāravi took his theme are entirely changed, and what we find in the works of Bhāravi are new characters that are Bhāravi's original creations. The heroine in the original complains about her sufferings, and this aspect is very prominent in the original; in Bhāravi she is silent about her own sufferings, speaks only about the sufferings of Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers and says that so far as she herself was concerned, suffering would have become festivity if the lustre of their valour had not been dimmed by their enemies. In the original, Yudhiṣṭhira is a weak and vacillating person, while in Bhāravi he becomes a martial hero, with his martial heroism tempered by diplomatic forethought. Bhīma in the original is a reckless warrior prepared to start on a fight with no thought at all, while in Bhāravi's hand he becomes an exponent of diplomacy with logic and learning in the classics of the subject. Bhāravi took only the material from earlier books and what he has presented are his own creations, so far as characterisation is concerned. But this cannot be said of his Nature; he took the mate-

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rial from old texts and presented it as described in the classics. Kālidāsa is a poet of Nature and also of human character while Bhāravi is only the latter. He felt the humiliation which his country was suffering on account of the power which the foreigners were acquiring and he felt sorry for the country on account of people of importance submitting themselves to such foreign patronage in the name of good government and material prosperity. He wanted his countrymen to regain freedom through martial valour. He is not merely a poet of human nature; he is a poet of martial heroism.

(v) BHAṬṬI

The name Bhaṭṭi is a colloquial form of the Sanskrit word *Bhartar* meaning "Master". We do not know his real name. "This poem was composed in the kingdom of Valabhi protected by the illustrious king Dharasena." This Valabhi kingdom was in the west of India, and there are four kings of Valabhi bearing that name. It is likely that he was a contemporary of one of the earlier Dharasenas, that is, about the middle of the sixth century A.D. "This poem can be understood only through a commentary; it is a great festivity for those who have a trained intellect. And in this, those with untrained intellect are brought to grief by me, because I have a special partiality for scholars." This is what the poet says about his own poem. There was a literary critic (Bhāmaha) who condemned poems that can be understood only through a commentary on account of double meanings and various kinds of difficult alliterations, and perhaps this is a challenge to that literary critic. It cannot be that the literary critic was condemning this poem in so far as the point of difficulty condemned by the critic is quite different from the point which makes this poem difficult; this poem is difficult because of the erudition in grammar which the poet brings into play in this poem. This does not in any way help us in determining his date. Perhaps the literary critic was an elder contemporary if not a much earlier author, and his date too is a subject of much controversy among scholars.

The poet had a great opinion of his own poem and he speaks of the poem as a lamp in the hands of those who have got grammar as their eyes and a mirror in the hands of the blind for others. The theme is the story of Srī Rāma, following the *Rāmāyaṇa*. As it closes with the death of Rāvaṇa, the enemy of Srī Rāma, it is called the *Rāvaṇa-vadha* (Rāvaṇa-killing). The poem illustrates the rules of grammar found in the work of the great grammarian Pāṇini. It is in twenty cantos. In the first four cantos, the general rules are illustrated by using the relevant grammatical forms. Some more

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important rules are illustrated in the next five. Embellishments in poetry (*Alaṅkāra*) are illustrated in cantos 10 to 13 and in the remaining eight are given the moods and tenses of verbs. A commentary is needed both in understanding the grammatical portion and the portion relating to literary embellishments (*Alaṅkāras*). Bhaṭṭi uses various metres also in his poem. Considering the obstacles which he has himself set on his path, we must confess that he has been able to jump over the hurdles with great success. There is a beauty in his language and in the way in which he presents his theme, and the work deserves the appellation of a Grand Epic (*Mahākāvya*) and it is so recognised. Here is a combination of poetic skill with erudition and skill. He is more an erudite scholar and a skilled versifier than a great poet with imagination and a heart responsive to human emotions and to the beauty of Nature. He is a clever poet. His poetry may not touch the heart; but it certainly gives pleasure to the intellect. Training of the intellect with pleasure is not a negligible factor in literature.

(vi) MĀGHA

Māgha is the great favourite of the erudite scholars according to Indian tradition. In one sense he is recognised as the greatest poet in Sanskrit. They speak of the sweet melody of Daṇḍin's words, the profound thoughts in the words of Bhāravi and the similes in Kālidāsa; they say that all the three are combined in Māgha. It is also said that the lustre of Bhāravi lasted only until the appearance of Māgha. In the first half of his Grand Epic, he has, according to tradition, exhausted the vocabulary of Sanskrit. He has imitated Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* in the construction of the epic. He seems to have received his inspiration from Bhaṭṭi in showing his command of grammar and in the use of various difficult grammatical forms. As in Bhāravi, he maintains a majestic style in his epic. His language is lucid and chaste though his construction of sentences is a little hard.

His poem is called *Śiśupāla-vadha* (Śiśupāla-killed). The story relates to the killing of Śiśupāla, king of the Cedi country by Srī Kṛṣṇa. Śiśupāla was an enemy of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the divine incarnation, and he was Rāvaṇa, the enemy of Śrī Rāma, in his previous birth. The episode is taken from the *Mahābhārata*. Śiśupāla was a very cruel king and he was harassing not only men on the earth but also the gods in Heaven. A great sage Nārada went to Śrī Kṛṣṇa to represent the grievances of the world to him so that he could save the world from his harassment. At that time, Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the five brothers who came triumphant in the Great War of the

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Mahābhārata, and king of Indraprastha, had arranged for the performance of a great sacrifice called the *Rājasūya,* which kings after their coronation perform to assert their sovereign status. Śrī Kṛṣṇa was his cousin. He had some difficulty in coming to a decision between proceeding to Śiśupāla to kill him and going to his cousin Yudhiṣṭhira to attend his sacrifice. He and his brother Balarāma sat in council and discussed the situation along with their friend and minister Uddhava. Śrī Kṛṣṇa naturally wanted to go to his cousin but concealed his intention to please his brother and advocated immediate action against Śiśupāla; Uddhava made the final choice by suggesting that if he went to the sacrifice, Śiśupāla too would be there and Śrī Kṛṣṇa would get the chance to kill him there. Śrī Kṛṣṇa proceeded to the sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, and there all the kings including Śiśupāla were assembled as guests. It was the custom on such occasions to receive a particular king as the chief guest, and Bhīṣma, the grand-uncle of Yudhiṣṭhira suggested that the honour should be done to Śrī Kṛṣṇa; Śiśupāla objected to this and claimed the honour to himself. He reviled Śrī Kṛṣṇa for all his crimes and sins in his life. This gave the occasion for Śrī Kṛṣṇa to challenge him and to kill him in the fight.

There is nothing that can be called a story. This small episode is only an occasion for the poet to compose a Grand Epic. It is an elaborate description of situations developed out of a small story. There is some movement in the first two cantos where there is the description of the afflictions of the world through Śiśupāla, and the council of the three. The departure of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and a fine description of his capital city Dvārakā occupy the whole of the third canto and in the fourth canto there is a description of a hill called Raivataka on the way. From the fifth to the eleventh canto, it is the description of their halt at this camp, the description of the army, the sports, the love-making among the ladies and the young men, drinking and water-sports, seasons and various other topics.

Māgha describes what he knew from books, and what he knew from books is a colossal mass, and he has the skill to present it in an artistic and attractive manner. He indulges in the various forms of alliteration and he handles the alliteration known as the *Yamaka* (three or four or more syllables repeated in the same verse) in a very masterly way. Besides his command of grammar and vocabulary, he exhibits his knowledge of diplomacy too. In the description of a situation in the beginning and deliberation in a council, the description of a journey by the hero and description of sports and various other items, and the final close with a scene of fight and the triumph of the hero——in this structure he imitates Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya.*

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Māgha does not have that hold on human emotions and on character delineation which Bhāravi has; but his skill is much greater in handling the language and the intellectual factors in the composition of poetry. Nature has colour and variety in the hands of Māgha as in the hands of Bhāravi; but Nature has no "life" in their hands. Neither felt the beauty of Nature; but both understood its beauties through their intellectual abilities and through their learning. Māgha may be put to about 600 A.D.

(viii) Śrī Harṣa

After Kālidāsa with his two Grand Epics and Bhāravi and Māgha with one Grand Epic for each, there comes Śrī Harṣa who is honoured as the author of the fifth of the "Five Grand Epics" (*Pañca-mahākāvya*), counted as the best among the Grand Epics in Sanskrit according to tradition. Kālidāsa represents a type; so does Bhāravi and Māgha, each being a type in himself in spite of the many points of similarities and imitations. They formed the model for the composition of a large number of Grand Epics. Now there is Śrī Harṣa who represents another type of Grand Epic with an individuality of his own. His work is called the *Naiṣadhīya-carita* or the story (*Carita*) relating to Naiṣadha (*Naiṣadhīya*) which is another name for Nala, one of the best known heroes of epics in India. The story of Nala and Damayantī is one of the most popular among the stories from ancient India, in modern times.

The available portion is in twenty-two cantos and it goes only to the wedding of the hero and the heroine. The defeat of the hero, his exile to the forest, his separation from the heroine and his wandering in the forest, his service in the court of a king as cook, the announcement of a second wedding for the heroine who had reached her father, and the arrival of the hero at the wedding as the chariot-driver of the king he was serving, his recognition and the final union of the hero and the heroine, are all in portions that should follow the available text. We do not know why the work was left unfinished. There are traditions that the poet had written further portions also; there have been attempts to complete the poem by later poets and also to write poems as rivals to this poem.

According to Indian tradition there is only the *Śiśupāla-vadha* of Māgha as a real rival to the *Naiṣadha*. It is called the scholars' tonic (*Vidvad-auṣadha*). It is also recognised as having eclipsed both Bhāravi and Māgha. Harṣa was probably a contemporary of king Vijayacandra or Jayacandra of Kanauj in the second half of the twelfth century. Besides being a great poet, he was also a great philosopher, the author of a famous work on Advaita Vedānta (Mo-

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nistic Vedānta) known as the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍakhādya* (Sugar-candy pieces of refutations) being a refutation of the doctrines of the Nyāya system of philosophy.

The *Naiṣadhīya-carita* is philosophy and all sciences and other currents of thought brought into poetry, or poetry presenting all the systems of philosophy and all the sciences and currents of thought knit around a simple and familiar story. There are elaborate descriptions, both of Nature and of human emotions. Harṣa's philosophy does not affect the art in his poetry; on the other hand he beautifies his philosophy by giving it a coating of art. There is no subject known at that time which is not introduced in this poem in some context or other. Abstruse philosophy is placed side by side with the details of love, and love practices dealt with in the "Science of Love" (*Kāma-śāstra*), and yet we see no sort of contradiction between them.

Harṣa's language is lucid and grand. He introduces the alliterations, especially that variety known as the *Yamaka* (three or more syllables repeated) and he also indulges in using words with a double meaning. But there is an effortless ease with which he handles all such devices in language, and one does not feel wearied on account of such exhibition of skill; they are very natural in his poetry and they flow through his poetry in the most natural way. He describes only what are relevant to the context; he does not drag in points simply for securing an occasion for description, as is found in many of the poems starting with Māgha's *Śiśupāla-vadha* and continued in its many imitations. But when he starts on a description, there is an arrest in the movement of the story. All the descriptions are those of a scholar who has known such things in his studies and not of a person who has felt and realised the beauty of such objects in his heart.

We do not know whether he had continued the poem beyond the twenty-two cantos now available or whether he left it unfinished, or whether he meant it as complete in itself. It cannot be said that the poem does not end in a natural way, requiring further narration to complete what are promised or hinted at in the earlier parts. It is not at all unlikely that he meant to write only on the marriage of the hero and the heroine and to stop the poem at that stage. There is the description of the honeymoon. There is the closing description of the night in which the moon then rising is pictured as being red with anger on account of the long description of the night, and to appease the moon, there is the description of the rising moon, hailing his advent in scarlet splendour. This can be the natural close of the poem.

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All the factors that make a poem good and great are found in it. There is a majestic style, full of music in its flow. There is a lucid language with chaste words and expressions. There are embellishments that give a special glow to the beautiful language and ideas. There is a story that moves, though rather slowly. The theme is really grand, and a thing is grand only when it moves slowly. What moves fast in a fleeting manner is not what is generally recognised as grand and majestic. There are descriptions bearing a magnitude consistent with the size of the theme, and such descriptions decorate the story and keep it steady in its movement. Man is not a mere emotion; man has his intellect and a full satisfaction for a man is when man's emotions and intellect are also satisfied. Here there is sufficient scope for the satisfaction of the intellect of man along with the emotions of man. It is this balance between the two major factors in the inner constitution of man that makes the poem great and that made the poem the ideal one for the Indian mind. Art saturated with intellectualism and intellectualism mixed with art—this is the ideal found worked out in this poem.

(viii) A FEW OTHER NOTABLE POETS

a. Meṇṭha

Kāshmir found a few very eminent poets in the second half of the first millennium. Bhartṛ-Meṇṭha (Master-*Meṇṭha*), known also simply as Meṇṭha and also called Hastipaka (Elephant-keeper) was a poet in the time of King Mātṛgupta of Kāshmir who is sometimes identified with Kālidāsa through mere conjecture. Meṇṭha wrote a poem called the *Hayagrīva-vadha* (Hayagrīva-killing) which was so very beautiful in the opinion of King Mātṛgupta that the king gave him a golden dish to place below the book so that it may not lose its sweetness. It describes the story of how the great God Viṣṇu killed the demon Hayagrīva who stole the wisdom of the nation. Meṇṭha has described the king as comparable to a silent and unexpected rain which does not make its appearance known in advance, which makes no thundering noise about its performances, which does not reveal its intentions to any one and yet which yields fruits; its benefaction is known only from the fruits. Meṇṭha may be placed in the sixth century A.D.

b. Bhīma

Bhīma is also known as Bhauma and Bhūma. He wrote a poem called the *Rāvaṇa-Arjunīya* or *Arjuna-Rāvaṇīya*, dealing with the fight between Rāvaṇa, the enemy of Śrī Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and a great king called Arjuna, son of Kṛtavīrya in which Rāvaṇa was

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defeated and kept as a prisoner by Arjuna. This is perhaps in imitation of Bhaṭṭi's poem, illustrating the rules of grammar.

c. Śivasvāmin

The *Kappaṇābhyudaya* of Śivasvāmin is a historical epic dealing with the conversion of a king Kappaṇa to Buddhism. The story is taken from Buddhistic sources, but handled in a very independent manner. Only the episode of a king being converted into Buddhism agrees with the source, and the rest are the inventions of the poet. Just as in the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi and the *Śiśupāla-vadha* of Māgha, there is some news that disturbs the king and a council is held to think of a way to solve the situation, a message is sent to the enemy king to be prepared for war. Here the story goes at a tangent and this deviation gives the poet occasion for showing off his skill in constructing poetry. A demigod suggests to the king that the latter might accompany him to the Malaya Mountain to prepare for a plan for the campaign. This gives the poet an occasion for full descriptions of the mountain, the encampment of the army there, the seasons, the water-sports of the soldiers with the women, and other kinds of enjoyments like roaming about in the forest and collecting flowers, sun-set, rise of the moon, drinking wine in the company of young women by the soldiers, various kinds of conjugal joys in the night, and the break of day. There is also described the march of the army and a severe battle and his victory; finally the king Kappaṇa who was triumphant is converted to the religion of Buddha. The poet is a close follower of the poems of Bhāravi and Māgha in all the details, in descriptions, in the handling of language with all its complexities like alliterations of various kinds. The poet belonged to Kāshmir and lived in the ninth century.

d. Ratnākara

Ratnākara is another Kāshmiri poet who contributed to Sanskrit one more Grand Epic of the nature of the poems of Bhāravi and Māgha. His poem is *Hara-vijaya* (Hara's victory), that is, the victory of Hara or the Great God Śiva over a demon. Andhaka (meaning blind) was a son born to the Great God Śiva in His consort Pārvatī; during their intercourse, she closed his eyes and so the son was born blind. Through austerities he was later able to regain his eyesight and also acquired such great strength that he became master of the three worlds, and Śiva found it necessary to bring an end to his life. There is the description of the capital city of the God Śiva, his dances, the description of the seasons and of the mountain Mandara, the appeal of the seasons to Śiva for protection against the conqueror the demon Andhaka, a debate about the procedure

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against the enemy, and Śiva's message to the demon to retire. Then the retinue of Śiva marches to deliver the message to the enemy; the description of the sports of the soldiers, which alone occupies thirteen cantos, follows. The points are the same as in the descriptions by Bhāravi and Māgha. The enemy refuses to have any compromise or withdrawal. The fight and the death of the demon with the help of the Goddess Caṇḍī closes the poem with fifty cantos. This is perhaps the longest poem within the pattern of a Grand Epic.

e. Maṇkha

Maṇkha is a Kāshmiri poet of the 12th century, pupil of a great writer on literary criticism named Ruyyaka and a commentator on the work of Ruyyaka; the commentary is known as *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva* and in it he mentioned his own Grand Epic, the *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita.* This is again a very long epic in twenty-five cantos, describing the story (*Carita*) of Śrīkaṇṭha (another name for the Great God Śiva), how the God defeated and killed the demon Tripura (having three castles). Discourses of ethics and descriptions of mountains and seasons and sports and enjoyments of the men in the army in the company of young women and a deadly war are all brought into this poem, as in the case of the few poems of this pattern noted above. The last canto is particularly interesting, in which the poet describes the council of scholars and writers convened by his brother Alaṅkāra by name, who was minister of the king Jayasiṁha of Kāshmir. The learned society that adorned the court of the king is pictured here. The council was convened on the occasion of the completion of the poem and its proclamation to the scholars and poets of his time. It is found that the poet had three brothers who were also scholars and writers like himself and who adorned the court of the king. Such assemblies were common in those days, and the kings, being representatives of the wisdom and culture of the people, formed also the centre for such assemblies. They were the "Academies" where works of note were considered and adjudged, where scholars and poets were rewarded for their contributions to knowledge and culture, and where matters relating to culture and scholarship were discussed. As a matter of fact, each of the poems noticed above contains a portion describing a council to consider the action to be taken in a difficult situation where matters of high state policy had to be decided; here it is the description of a historical council and not of a council forming a part of the story of the poem.

(ix) REVIEW

Only a few select specimens are noticed in this book. There are hundreds and hundreds of Grand Epics of this nature in Sans-

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krit literature—a feature that makes Sanskrit literature unique in the literatures of the world. There are many languages in the world that cannot boast of a Grand Epic, and there are many that can boast of only a few Epics of this pattern, one, two or three; that is the maximum that is found in any language, ancient or modern. All the epics in the languages of the world taken together, keeping Sanskrit out, will be only in a two digit number, which Sanskrit had at its very start. There must have been more written in various times in Sanskrit; they could not pass through the sieve in the process of testing for the estimation of their merits. What are preserved are what have secured the approval of hard critics, what have passed through the scrutiny of scholars assembled in centres of learning, which were mainly in the courts of rulers who were themselves in many cases poets of eminence.

The epics in Sanskrit are not what have been manufactured in a factory in a certain specified mould. Each has its individuality. Kālidāsa represents a type in himself, and so does Bhāravi. Māgha started a new type, adopting various factors from the epic of Bhāravi, and it is the work of Māgha that became the model for many a poet of the later stage. It is for showing this fact that I included a few of such specimens in which the technique of Māgha has been followed. Such later works are not at all photographic reproductions; the imitation is only in the outline, in the general design, and not in the workmanship. In the matter of workmanship, there is no imitation at all; each is an original work in itself. There have been poets who adopted the technique of Kālidāsa even in the later stages in the development of Sanskrit.

Here I may mention one specimen of this type, the *Madhurā-vijaya* of Gaṅgādevī, a queen of the Vijayanagar dynasty in the fourteenth century. Her husband, Prince Kampaṇa, died early, before his father. But as a prince he was one of the greatest warriors and protectors of the country and its culture at that time. Here there is the city of Vijayanagara very graphically described in simple verses. An army under the prince moves to the South and halts in camp at the famous city of Kāñcīvaram, during the winter. In a dream the prince had an inspiration to proceed against the enemy that had conquered the imperial city of Madhurā, and to restore its ancient glory he advances further to the South, defeats and kills the foreign conqueror and takes various steps to commemorate the victory against the invader. Since it deals with the conquest over Madhurā, it is called the *Madhurā* (the City)-*Vijaya* (victory or conquest). Since the prince who won this victory is named Kampaṇa or Vīra (Heroic)-Kamparāya, the work is also known as *Vīra-*

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Kamparāya-carita, the word Carita meaning "history". This is a very late work and is beautiful with its simple and elegant language, apt descriptions, brisk movements, tense situations and graphic descriptions of places and persons, permeated with a spirit of heroism.

There is a very unfortunate criticism against the grand Epics of Sanskrit that they were written by poets to please the kings and to secure the approbation of a few intellectuals who surrounded the kings in order to extract some rich reward. It is true that the poems were mostly presented before the king with his assembly of scholars and poets, and that it was only when a poem was approved at such an assembly that it was released for the public. The poems pleased the king not because the king was a ruler, but because he was a scholar and artist; he became a ruler only on account of such qualities. Certainly the poems pleased the scholars also, and it was so because the poems were really good specimens of art. But it did not stop here. The poems gave pleasure to the people also.

People at that time had a general education reaching to a relatively high level. All the educated people knew Sanskrit and the educated people constituted a good proportion of the whole population. It cannot be maintained that all the people who had education could understand and appreciate all the niceties and intricacies of art; as a matter of fact even among scholars, such people who could really understand and appreciate true art formed only a minority. The intellectualism found in the Grand Epics should not be taken to indicate the narrow and exclusive nature of the circle for which the epics were meant; it rather indicated the high level of intellectual attainment among the generality of the people at that time. Certainly many of the readers of such poems required even an annotation and such annotations are available in plenty for all the poems.

Kālidāsa never glorified a king. Bhāravi described a hero in exile taking steps to regain his lost kingdom. In Māgha and his followers also there are the general public coming to claim a good share of the epic. There is the description of a council where problems of politics and diplomacy are discussed and a war is introduced. Then there is the march of the army with a king also as head of the army. But here, the king is dispensed with and when it comes to the description of the army in camp, it is the common people, the soldiers in the army, that are described with their sports and amusements and conjugal enjoyments in an atmosphere of natural beauty with the sunset and the moon-lit nights, with trees and creepers and plants with beautiful foliage and flowers, the birds and the animals, the rivers and the mountains and all such aspects of a grand Nature.

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Whether it is in Kālidāsa or in any other poet, the real theme is the common man and Nature; kings come in only as men and they play only a subordinate role when the real poetry starts with the descriptions. Certainly the army did not consist of kings; there must have been the army in general, which consisted of the general people. People read and admired the poetry because they were about themselves. There has been idealisation. It does not mean that what was described in the poems represented the ordinary homes. The descriptions show that even the common man at that time was capable of a high standard of life. The poets and the critics and the general public did not notice any sort of discrepancy between the kind of description and the general nature of the people with their common life. The poets did not confine and restrict high and noble life, the light of beauty, to the kings; they brought kings and the general people on a common platform on occasions of such descriptions. How can one say that the poems were written to please the kings?

There is artificiality. Art is what is artificial (made into art). A poet and an artist select and arrange what are found in Nature, and in that way, Nature becomes art. Art which is artificial, must be expressed in artificial language if that is to be poetic art. And such artificiality is also found in plenty in the Grand Epics, sometimes even with a vengeance. In a painting, there are introduced some floral and other designs that do not form an integral part of the picture, but form only the right setting for the presentation of the art. In dancing, besides dances that stir up certain emotions, there are found introduced postures of a very unnatural, artificial nature which the spectators admire and enjoy. In music also, the artist exhibits his skill in manipulating the notes and in handling the instruments, which exhibitions do not evoke any emotional stir in the hearer but which evoke some sort of wonder and admiration in the hearer. Similarly in a Grand Epic also there is introduced some exhibition of skill in handling the language. They are usually found in the middle of the epic.

I have already referred to some type of alliteration called the *Yamaka*, where three or more syllables are repeated. Various other devices are resorted to in poetry by poets to bring about the right setting for the presentation of the poetic art; they are not integral parts of the poetry, they are only border decorations. Besides various metres coming in one after the other in the same canto, which is not the feature in the epics generally, the letters forming the verse are sometimes capable of being arranged in some figures, like the figure of a chariot or a wheel or a lotus. Sometimes there is only one letter in the whole verse. All such artifices add to the total effect of

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the epic on the reader. The poem is to be recited and not to be looked into from a printed page. Such a manipulation of sounds in a verse creates a special effect on the listeners. The listeners enjoy such manipulations. It is a part of art. If we say that art shall be only so and so, art ceases to be art. There is nothing that cannot form a part of art; the only question is whether a thing has been presented as art in a setting suitable to the art. This is what is found in the artificiality of the Grand Epics.

There is a common mission undertaken by all the poets who have contributed to this class of literature in Sanskrit and they have all a common source of inspiration. All of them were aware of a great past for the nation which glory was gradually dwindling. There were great teachers and great philosophers; there were great poets and artists and great leaders for the nation who taught the nation the essence of good life, and this system was found to have been prospering in the country from the earliest times of which there is any memory in the country. There was a grand conception of the world and also a deep philosophy of life in the culture of the nation from such earliest times. But popular beliefs were changing, and with the changes in the beliefs and the life of the people, the nation was meeting with a decadence, and foreigners were coming into the country and conquering the country and establishing their own kingdoms within the country, which was never invaded by any foreigner when their traditional culture dominated the life of the people. The mission of the poets was to restore that ancient culture.

Ancient themes could interest the later people also and what was wanted was only to present the ancient themes in the later setting. There is no need to discard all things that are ancient when conditions change and what was needed was only to change the mode of presentation. This latter was what the poets of the medieval times did when they wrote the Grand Epics; this is what the poets of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, namely, Veda Vyāsa and Vālmīki, and also Kālidāsa did. Thus there was a unity among the poets of this time, though their techniques differed.

The new belief was that conditions changed in the world and that what was old has no value in the changed conditions; new teachers and new standards have come which discard all that are old. What can be called good life, what can be called civilized life, started only when the old ways were replaced by the new ways. It is this belief that the poets wanted to remove from the popular mind and they wanted to bring about a unity between what were old and

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what are new; they are all aspects of the same culture. Culture can grow and change without a break. It is the awakening of such a true nationalism that saved the country; foreigners were absorbed into the spirit of the ancient culture and the foreigners became the greatest supporters of the ancient traditions of the country under the influence of the great poets.

It may be that we in the present age are not able to find any beauty in the art of the Grand Epics. But there is the ancient saying in Sanskrit that "if a post is not seen by a blind man, it is no fault of the post." What is wanted is not to discard that art but to develop a taste and ability to realise the beauty in that art. It is the same unfortunate belief of the medieval ages which is dominating the present generation also, that conditions have changed and that we must discard the ancient heritage which does not fit into the modern environment and that we must replace the ancient stock with new ones. The result has been that we have lost what was old and we have not got anything that can be a substitute to what is lost.

The question is not whether the ancient art satisfies our needs of art; our standards of art. The real question is whether they satisfied the needs of a great nation. Can we say that what satisfied such a nation does not deserve to be recognised as art? For answering this question, we must have a better understanding of the culture of the ancient people. We have to recognise that they had intellectual eminence, they had emotional growth. They loved beauty and developed beauty around them. They realised the world around them as beautiful and they recognised the immense possibilities of enjoyment within this life on the earth.

Just as there was a great change from the Vedic to the medieval times, there has been also a great change from the medieval times to the modern times. So we must change the mode of presentation while we can retain the material and the spirit of the medieval times; this will bring about a unity between the medieval culture and modern culture that has to develop in the country, and since the medieval culture had a harmony with the Vedic times, there will result a unity between the modern times and the medieval times and the Vedic times. Thus Indian life and Indian culture from the earliest times to the modern times become a unity. It is for this purpose that we should try to understand the Grand Epics of the medieval times; the purpose is not to arrest new growth and be satisfied with what is old. The real purpose is to give a manure to the new growths.

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VII. DRAMA

(a) GENERAL

There are two ancient languages in which the dramas were developed to a high degree of artistic perfection, and they are Sanskrit and Greek. There has been a view held that the Sanskrit drama had its origin in the Greek drama and that the influence of the Greek dramas on the Sanskrit dramas is very clear. This has not been accepted by many of the scholars who have worked on the subject. No one has even hinted that the Greek drama had its inspiration and origin from Sanskrit drama, that Aristotle had his inspiration in writing his *Poetics* from the dramaturgy found in Sanskrit. One thing is certain and that is that both deal primarily with dramaturgy.

The term used in Sanskrit to designate a drama is *Nāṭaka*, and this word is derived from the root *Nṛt* meaning "to dance". In the earliest stage of Sanskrit, i.e., in the *Ṛgveda*, there is no hint of a dramatic art; there is a word *Nṛtū* which is derived from the same root *Nṛt* (to dance), and the word means a dancer, applied to the goddess *Uṣas* (Dawn). All the elements constituting a drama are found in the *Ṛgveda*, namely dialogue, music and dance; there is also some sort of visual representation of situations and events. Various amusements and recreations are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* like chariot-race, hunting and gambling; but drama does not seem to have been a source of enjoyment to the people of the time, in so far as there is no hint of the prevalence of such an art. Yet, we may assume that there had been some kind of visual representation of situations and events through dialogues and action accompanied with music and dance even at that time since all the elements are separately found in the *Ṛgveda*.

Another word that designates drama in Sanskrit is *Rūpaka*, which means "visual presentation", and yet another term is *Abhinaya*, which means "bringing to the presence". None of these terms, *Nāṭaka*, *Rūpaka* and *Abhinaya* are found in the earliest literature in Sanskrit. Yet the earliest work on literary criticism is about drama and dramatic representation in which literature comes in only as of secondary importance being subordinate to dramatic representation. In settling the age of the dramatic art in India, all these points must be kept in view; nothing can definitely be said about this problem.

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All that we are sure about is that at the time when Bharata wrote his great work on dramaturgy, called the *Nāṭya-Śāstra* (*Nāṭya*=Dancing; *Śāstra*=Science), there was an immense wealth of dramatic literature available to him. He describes the various types of dramas and mentions the names of dramas coming within the various types. We do not know the date of Bharata; he must be prior to Kālidāsa. But Kālidāsa's date itself is yet unsettled, scholars differing on the question considerably; the earliest date suggested is about the first quarter of the second century B.C., the latest date suggested being the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. The art of drama and works dealing with the art were known to Pāṇini, the great grammarian of the Sanskrit language, and his date is definitely a few centuries prior to the beginning of the Christian era, perhaps five centuries. In his time also there must have been many dramas and there must have also been treatises on dramaturgy. Pāṇini is not later than the date of the great Tragedies in Greek.

Kālidāsa is not the earliest dramatist of Sanskrit; he mentions three dramatists famous in his time, and they are Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kaviputra. Of them we know only the names of the last two. Of the first, namely, Bhāsa, we know that he had written a drama called the *Svapna-vāsavdatta* (Dream-Vāsavadattā), in which the heroine Vāsavadattā was seen by the hero in his sleep. Recently, a few dramas, thirteen in number, were published as the works of Bhāsa, about fifty years ago, and about twenty years ago a fourteenth was also added to this number. There must have been many dramas even prior to Bhāsa, as is found in the work on dramaturgy of Bharata. But in a history of Sanskrit literature, we have to start with Bhāsa in dealing with drama, since his dramas are the earliest available now.

(b) BHĀSA

In the history of Sanskrit literature, Bhāsa's name is as famous as the name of Kālidāsa. Poets and dramatists and romance writers speak of him with great admiration. Writers on literary criticism also mention his name, and passages are cited with great respect from his dramas. Bāṇa, the great romance writer of the beginning of the seventh century A.D., compares the dramas of Bhāsa with a temple started by *Sūtra-dhāra* (the chief among the actors or the builder who holds the measuring tape), having many *Bhūmikas* (storeys or characters) and having *Patākas* (episodes or banners). Rājaśekhara speaks of the circle of Bhāsa's dramas having been thrown into the fire and of his *Svapna-vāsavadatta* not

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having been burnt; and Rājaśekhara belonged to the beginning of the 10th century. Another dramatist, Jayadeva of the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D., speaks of Bhāsa as merriment (*Hāsa*). Events in the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* of Bhāsa are alluded to in works on literary criticism, and passages are also cited which are found in this drama, though the source of such citations is not given. Passages from the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* mentioning sometimes the name of the dramatist as Bhāsa are also found in some works, though not one of such passages is traceable to the drama of that name that is now published as the drama of Bhāsa.

When in the beginning of this century the drama *Svapna-vāsavadatta* was first published, followed by twelve more dramas of the same dramatist, there was considerable excitement among students of Sanskrit literature in so far as the dramas of such a famous dramatist till then unknown were discovered and published. There arose a great controversy regarding the authenticity of the authorship of these dramas. There is evidence in the history of Sanskrit literature only about the association of Bhāsa with a single drama, the *Svapna-vāsavadatta*. A literary critic, Bhāmaha, criticises the construction of the plot of a drama which has the same theme as that of one of the thirteen dramas, the *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa*, which theme is a prelude to the theme in the *Svapna-vāsavadatta*. But the drama as it is does not seem to be a fit target for such a criticism, in spite of the identity of the story. It may be that there was yet another drama with the same story and that the criticism may be against that, and that this drama is a new production with the same story revised and made free from such criticism. It has not yet been proved that Bhāsa is the author of the thirteen dramas. Scholars differ.

i. *Svapna-vāsavadatta*

Vāsavadattā was the queen of a great heroic king named Udayana who had his capital at Kauśāmbī. There was a prophecy that he should marry Padmāvatī, daughter of another king, if he was to be victorious over his enemies. But on account of his great love for the queen, he was reluctant to conduct that marriage, though that would help him in his wars, through securing the alliance of that king. His minister, Yaugandharāyaṇa, spread a story that when the king was on a hunting expedition, there was a fire accident in a village where the queen was camping and that the house in which she was living was also burnt and that she died in that accident. The king believed the story, and now since his beloved was lost, he was not unwilling to marry the other princess. The minister had

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persuaded the queen to accept the contrivance which was necessary for his victories and for the safety of his kingdom, and she agreed to live in the palace of the same princess as a friend. The king went to that place for the marriage. The marriage was conducted. One day when the king was sleeping, Vāsavadattā went there to know how he was feeling since he was suffering from severe headache. The king saw her as if in dream since she could not have been alive, as the king believed, and this incident gives the name to the drama. By that time Vāsavadattā's identity was known and she and the new queen went to the capital of the hero.

This is a very beautiful drama. But the drama as it is now available does not seem to be a complete one. Many events in the drama of this name mentioned by writers on literary criticism are not found in this drama, and so are some passages cited as from this drama by such writers; the drama as we have it now, is likely to be an adaptation for the stage or an abridgement of the original drama of Bhāsa. The king still remembering his lost queen and yet having to show love to a new queen, the first queen living as a friend in the palace of the second queen, seeing all that was happening, and unable to reveal her identity, and ultimately the context when the first queen had to go to the apartment where the king was sleeping, without being discovered—all such events give an occasion for the dramatist to describe situations that are full of pathos and display of very tender feelings. The characterisation is superb and the plot development is very natural and charming. There are very tense situations, like the one in which the confidential companion of the king asks him about the first queen who was supposed to be dead and about the new queen, when the first queen was actually present there within hearing.

The language is simple and elegant, suiting the tender feelings in the drama. There is little that can be called Nature description in the drama; it is essentially a drama of the study of human feelings. There is also very little of what can be called the supernatural, except what comes within the popular beliefs of the time. Man and his feelings, his sufferings and final triumph form the main interest in the drama. There is little of a story though it is full of arresting situations; consequently there is not much of action and movement while there is much of mental excitement. The hero who has many exploits to his credit, as a lover and a bereaved husband still thinking of his lost love, living in the same place with his former love whose identity was not known, the new queen who never knew of the heart's pangs of her companion, the former queen of her husband, and the former

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queen supposed to be dead, bearing all sorows for the sake of the final victory of her husband and concealing her pangs, having to see her husband becoming the bridegroom of another princess and not being able to have the company of her husband who was living in the same place—all such situations make an appeal to the readers which few dramas can make.

ii. *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa*

There is no evidence at all that this is a drama of Bhāsa, so far as the Sanskrit literature goes; there is no mention of it anywhere. The story is criticised by a literary critic for its faults in plot construction. If this drama, which does not have any of the defects shown by that critic, is later than that critic, being an attempt to revise an old drama in the light of that criticism then this is rather a late drama and not the drama of Bhāsa. But this is generally accepted as a drama of Bhāsa. The story is a prelude to the *Svapnavāsavadatta*, being the story of the marriage of Udayana with Vāsavadattā.

Udayana was a great hero and king of Kauśāmbī. There was another powerful king at Ujjayinī named Pradyota who had a daughter named Vāsavadattā, and the king wanted Udayana to be her husband. But there was the difficulty of getting Udayana who was his enemy as his son-in-law. So he resorted to a contrivance to get the hero to his kingdom. Udayana was a great musician and an expert in playing the *Vīṇā* instrument with which he used to tame elephants. Pradyota constructed an artificial elephant of huge size, filled it with soldiers and sent it to the borders of the kingdom of Udayana; no one could detect it as artificial, so natural was the construction. The king Udayana heard about this wonderful elephant and started with his musical instrument, the *Vīṇā*, to that place to tame this new elephant. He had a minister named Yaugandharāyaṇa who knew about this contrivance, but he could not communicate the news to the king before he started on this dangerous adventure. When Yaugandharāyaṇa knew of the king's departure, it was too late to stop him. The king approached the elephant and began to play on his *Vīṇā*, but there was no change in the elephant. Suddenly all the soldiers came out, and there was a severe fight; the king was overpowered in spite of his valour and he was taken prisoner and carried to the capital city of his enemy.

The king of Ujjayinī, King Pradyota, engaged the king to give instructions in music to his daughter Vāsavadattā. At this time, the minister of the hero, Yaugandharāyaṇa, and the commander of his army Rumaṇvān and the confidential companion of the king,

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the *Vidūṣaka,* started to the kingdom of the enemy where the king was a prisoner, to gather news of the king and to find ways and means to release the king from captivity. Yaugandharāyaṇa took up the robes of a lunatic and Rumaṇvān went as a Buddhist monk; the confidential companion went there as an ordinary citizen and he used to visit the palace. One day the three met and had a council in which they discussed all problems. Yaugandharāyaṇa thought of a device. In the palace of the enemy there was a huge elephant, and if by some method that elephant could be made to run amok, King Udayana would be the only person to tame the elephant. He applied some drugs for the purpose and when the elephant could not be controlled by any one, King Udayana's services had to be requisitioned for the purpose and the king brought the elephant under control.

King Pradyota, the father of the heroine, developed considerable confidence in King Udayana and even allowed him to take a ride on the huge elephant. Following the secret counsel given to the king by Yaugandharāyaṇa through the king's confidential companion who was freely meeting the king in the palace without evoking any suspicion and without his identity being revealed, the king one day went out of the city along with the princess riding on the elephant and managed to escape from the city of his enemy. By that time Yaugandharāyaṇa had managed to fill the whole city with people who had come from the king's own city of Kauśāmbī, and they all helped in preventing a search and pursuit of the king in his flight.

This is the main story. At the council where the two ministers and the king's confidential companion discussed the methods of releasing the king from captivity, Yaugandharāyaṇa in the end made a vow that he would release the king from captivity and so the drama is called the *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa* (the Vow-Yaugandharāyaṇa). The style of the drama is exactly the same as what is found in the *Svapna-vāsavadatta.* No one will deny the identity of authorship in the case of the two dramas from the point of view of language, characterisation and descriptions of situations. This is a drama full of action and the characters are full of life and energy, with plenty of resources; this is especially the case with the two ministers and the confidential companion of the king; of the two ministers, Yaugandharāyaṇa is the real moving spirit in the whole drama. Calm and collected, full of forethought, resourceful, able to find a way out in any difficult situation, he came out triumphant through his skill in solving the problem of releasing the king from captivity without a struggle; and in a struggle, it would have been

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impossible to come out successful when they had to fight the enemy in his own capital city.

iii. *The remaining dramas*

The *Svapna-vāsavadatta* is the only drama of which there is some evidence to relate it to Bhāsa as the dramatist. In the case of the *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa,* there is such a close affinity between this and the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* that we cannot dissociate the one from the other, and so this latter also is given a prominent place in dealing with Bhāsa. The remaining eleven belong to a different class. In some of them the theme is taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in others the theme is taken from the *Mahābhārata.* There are two in which the story is taken from chronicles. In one the story relates to Srī Kṛṣṇa. One of this latter class, the *Cārudatta,* contains the first four acts of another drama, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka. The general view is that this drama of Bhāsa is the original and that Śūdraka enlarged the drama into ten Acts, now known as the *Mṛcchakaṭika.* Some take the short drama of four acts as only the beginning portion of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* with slight variations. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* will be taken up later.

In all the dramas, whether they are by Bhāsa or by other dramatists, there is very skilful workmanship, with good style, chaste language and vigorous characters and brisk movement. We miss in them the tender feelings and the deep pathos found in the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* and the *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa;* but we have in them fine specimens of vigorous characters full of action and strong emotions. In some of them the plot construction is very skilfully done. Many of them have only one or two Acts with very few characters also appearing on the stage. The dramatist is very original in handling the theme, deviating considerably from the original and introducing new events and situations for the proper development of the plot. All the dramas, including the two that are dealt with in some detail, are very good specimens of art, and it makes little difference whether they are by Bhāsa or by other dramatists. The discovery of the dramas and their publication have made Sanskrit literature richer.

(c) ŚŪDRAKA

In Sanskrit literature we know much about the art and little about the artist. In many cases we know the name; but there are reasons to doubt if that is his real name or that is only his pen name. Just as Veda Vyāsa is known as the author of the *Itihāsa,* the *Mahābhārata* and just as Vālmīki is known as the author of the other

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Itihāsa, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, there is a drama named *Mṛcchakaṭika* which is associated with Śūdraka as the author. Śūdraka is the name of a legendary king about whom very little of historical information is available. Śūdraka appears in many a tale in the literature in Sanskrit. He is spoken of as king of different countries in different places. But everywhere there is this fact that he was a king, that he was also a great king with learning and victory.

In Sanskrit dramas there is generally a prologue in which some information about the poet and the drama is given. In this drama, the author is spoken of as a great king with learning, who performed the famous *Aśvamedha* Sacrifice which is performed by all sovereign kings with imperial sway and who died after living for a little over a hundred years. Certainly this information about the author could not have been given by the author himself. Either the drama is not by Śūdraka; the poet wrote it and gave it out as the work of the great scholar king Śūdraka. Or it may also be that Śūdraka wrote it and that the prologue was added later. The latter is not a plausible alternative. In the former alternative we are depriving the drama of a really worthy authorship.

Nothing can be said about the date of the drama, since we do not know anything specific about the author. Kālidāsa mentions three of his predecessors and he does not mention Śūdraka. There has been a theory that Bhāsa is the author of this drama also. All the features mentioned by Bāṇa about the dramas of Bhāsa are found in this drama, and perhaps this is the only drama where all such features are found, namely, the drama starting by the *Sūtradhāra* (Chief Actor) himself and not by a character of the drama, a large number of characters appearing and episodes introduced. Elsewhere it has been said that Śūdraka is identical with Agnimitra the hero of Kālidāsa's drama the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Bhāsa and Agnimitra are elsewhere given as reputed poets, Agnimitra being given as Jvalanamitra, both meaning "friend of fire". Such a mode of designating a person by synonyms of the words constituting his name, here Jvalana for Agni meaning "fire", is not uncommon in Sanskrit literature. Bāṇa, the great romance writer of the seventh century, mentions king Śūdraka in his romance called the *Kādambarī* as attached to literature. There is a literary work called the *Śūdraka-kathā* (story of Śūdraka) by two authors named Rāmila and Saumila, as stated by a later literary critic Rājaśekhara of the tenth century. All that we can say is that according to tradition Śūdraka was a king and a scholar and a poet and that the drama *Mṛcchakaṭika* is known as a work of Śūdraka; the difficulty arises since, in the prologue to the drama, the poet is mentioned as dead. Is the whole

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drama by another poet or is the prologue added later? Both suppositions create problems.

We reach nowhere if we search for the identity of the poet; but we reap a good harvest if our efforts are limited to the poem alone. This is one of the best dramas in Sanskrit literature. It is one of the few dramas in Sanskrit that can produce an effect on the stage. The large number of characters, the variety in such characters both in point of social status and in point of their features, the pathos, the plot, the brisk action and the rapid movement of the story, the natural sequence in the appearance of events after events, the tense situations, the brilliant dialogues, the profusion of popular sayings, the presentation of human emotions—all these factors combined make the drama really interesting.

The story relates to a merchant of Ujjayinī, the famous city of ancient India, the centre of culture and of sciences and also of commerce, the seat of great emperors. He was a Brahmin who ought to have taken to a life of learning, of intellectual and cultural pursuits. He was already married and had a son, and he was living a life of opulence, honoured by all the citizens. But by ill luck he lost all his wealth owing to ship-wrecks. The heroine came from a community in which the women led a life of freedom and allowed their charms and their bodies to be enjoyed by those who could pay for them. She was also immensely rich and lived the same life of opulence in a palatial mansion. But she was devoted to the hero whom she met at a festival and with whom she fell in love; the love was mutual. There was the king's brother-in-law who was looking for a chance to have his carnal cravings satisfied through an association with her, and she stoutly rejected all his approaches; he had his jealousy for the merchant who was the object of her love. The drama starts with the heroine in the street walking towards home in the evening, chased by this brother-in-law of the king. At a later stage, they met again in a garden and when he found that she would not bend, he strangled her and threw her on the ground, thinking that she was dead. But she was not actually dead, and a Buddhist monk took care of her. At that time, since the heroine was missing, the king's brother-in-law accused the hero for having murdered the heroine to get at her jewels; in the court all evidences supported the accusation, the visit of the heroine to the house of the hero, the confidential companion of the hero having been found in possession of the jewels, the visit of the heroine to the garden to meet the hero as admitted by the heroine's mother, and so on. The hero was condemned to death; but at the last stage before the actual execution, the heroine appeared on the scene brought there by the Buddhist

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monk, and the whole situation cleared. The hero recommended pardon for his enemy who had tried to bring death on himself.

Along with this story of the love affair of the hero and the heroine, there is also a political episode intertwined with this main plot in the drama. There was the legitimate heir to the throne, a young prince, who was imprisoned by a rival, and the rival sat on the throne; the villain of the plot is his brother-in-law. About the time when the brother-in-law attempted murder, this young man was able to come out of the prison through the help of some friends, and at the time when the hero was condemned to death and saved from the gallows, this young king could sit on the throne and he was a great friend and admirer of the hero. The hero could easily have sent this villain to the gallows; but the magnanimity of the great soul had the upper hand and his life was saved by the same person whose life he endangered. What could have been an irrevocable tragedy turned out to end well. The turn of events was very natural also.

In the beginning we see the contemptible villain chasing a noble lady in the public streets; the heroine takes refuge in the house of the hero when she notices that she is already at his gate. She deposited her ornaments in his house and went home. At that time it so happened that there was a suitor for the lady companion of the heroine, and he wanted to secure some rich present to take to the heroine and get the release of the object of his love from her services; he decided that the easiest way would be to effect a burglary in a rich man's house, and the best place was the house of the hero. He burgled the house and carried away one of the ornaments which the heroine had deposited in that house. He took that very ornament to the heroine who recognised them. At that time the hero sent a substitute ornament through his confidential companion to the heroine. The heroine accepted that too and promised to visit his house. She paid her visit to the hero; there his son was weeping because in the place of the golden toys which he was accustomed to, he had to play with a clay toy-cart. It is this event that gave the name to the drama, *Mṛcchakaṭika* (*Mṛt*=clay and *Śakaṭikā*—toy-cart); in combination, the two words become *Mṛc-chakaṭika*. The heroine promised to present a golden toy to the boy. They agreed to meet again in the garden after the heroine had spent her night in the house of the hero. A cart was arranged by the hero for her to go there; but there was an error in the crowded street, and she got into the cart of the brother-in-law of the king who was waiting in the garden. That was how the villain met the heroine in the garden, which ended in his attempt to murder her. In the cart meant

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for the heroine, the boy king who had just found his release from prison had a safe ride to the outside of the city, in so far as no one would stop the cart of the hero.

In the beginning we see the hero and his confidential companion talking about his losses and the consequent poverty and about the humiliations and sufferings in poverty. This is one of the most touching scenes in the drama. When the burglar was approaching the house of the heroine with the ornaments, the heroine and her companion were talking about the choice of a suitable mate for the heroine and about the heroine's preferences in the matter. The companion was mentioning various names, and the heroine was rejecting each and every one of them for some reason, and ultimately the heroine opened out her heart and told her of her love for the hero whom she had met at a festival. Here there is brilliant dialogue with a touch of humour. The trial of the hero is another arresting scene and we see the king's brother-in-law using all his powers and authority even to deflect the course of law; still the law took its natural course which yet resulted in the tragedy which befell the hero, though later averted.

If the heroine were one minute late in making her appearance at the scene of the execution of the hero, the drama would have ended in a different way; the hero would have been put to death. Certainly the new king would not have allowed the villain to continue his life after having been the cause of the death of his friend, the hero. The heroine may not have cared to live after that tragic event, for the hero. The hero's confidential companion too would have preferred to end his life and in the family of the hero also, there would have been tragedies. Thus the stage would have been strewn with dead bodies. But the story was handled in a very clever way, and what would have been an irrevocable tragedy turned out to be a happy union of the hero and the heroine with joy to all, even to the villain of the tragedy.

In the love affair between a rich heroine and a hero in rather poor circumstances, in the attempt of a wicked villain to have revenge on an innocent man out of pure contemptible hatred, in the scenes where the hero talks about his losses and where the heroine talks about her preferences in the matter of choosing a companion in life, in the court scene and in various other matters, one cannot miss a close resemblance between this drama about the *Merchant of Ujjayinī* and Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. It is not at all suggested that Shakespeare was influenced by Śūdraka; great geniuses walk along similar paths.

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The hero's confidential companion, the *Vidūṣaka,* as he is generally known in Sanskrit dramas, is a type in this drama with few similar specimens; there is the confidential companion of the hero in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the confidential companion of the hero in Bhāsa's *Svapna-vāsavadatta* and *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa.* These two and the confidential companion of the hero in this drama form a trio. In all the other dramas, the confidential companion is a stupid simpleton who talks nonsense and who behaves in the most ridiculous way; he is no character at all in the dramas and he simply provides the hero with an occasion to talk about the heroine and his love for her. But in the case of this happy trio, we have a very intelligent and resourceful character, full of activity, skilful in carrying out plans and devising plans for escape from the most difficult of situations, with a strong mind able to keep any secret, devoted to the hero and supplying an effective motive power for the plot to develop, like any other chief character.

There is the Buddhist monk who saved the heroine towards the close of the drama. He was a shampooer; he had his trials and he had to face dangers. He took to the Monastic Order. It is a member of the Monastic Order, as in the case of the Nun in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, who becomes the chief agent for the final union of the hero and the heroine. He never counselled the heroine to abandon all interest in life and to join the Order, seeking the Path for escape from the sins and sufferings in life.

The gambler who takes to burglary since he had lost everything in the gambling den and wanted some valuable asset, is another interesting character. The whole scene of the burglary is also very attractive, in which the science of burglary is explained in a very detailed way, how to make the hole in the wall and how to put out the lamp by proper contrivances. The confidential companion of the hero was in possession of the ornament of the heroine, deposited for safe keeping with the hero, and he thought that when the burglar was taking it from him he was actually re-depositing it into the hands of the hero himself. The cart-drivers in the busy street and the executioners at the end are also very realistically portrayed. There is romance and idealism in the midst of realism and the common-place. We see the various sides of city life; we see the unscrupulous politician exploiting his position and the authority and power he wielded, for his own ends. There is brisk movement; scenes follow scenes and there is a natural sequence from event to event. The situations are always very tense and yet there is no exhibition of emotional fits like swooning and wailing. There is serenity and calmness, and the nerves are never overstrained.

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There are many women characters playing their part in the development of the plot. Besides the heroine, there is her jovial companion, faithful and full of humour without levity, intelligent and discriminating. There is the first wife of the hero, full of consideration for her husband, free from jealousy and pettiness, with no grain of selfish motives, surrendering quite willingly and freely her own ornament to replace the stolen ornament of the heroine, and even welcoming the new love of her husband with respect and consideration when she visited the house. The hero's maid-servant is an old lady with a full sense of her duties and motherly in her attitude to the hero.

The number of characters that appear on the stage is really large and each one of them has an individuality, with a place and a function in the development of the plot. There is no one who is just a passive spectator contributing to the development of the plot just by casual remarks like "What then" or "How wonderful" or "What a pity". Each one of them acts in his place and fulfils his function. It is difficult to speak of a classification of the characters into major and minor, except in a very technical way. Kings and their relatives, merchants, officials, cart-men, simple citizens with their humble avocations like shampooing, burglary, gambling, a monk, and all, come together forming a sort of "Socialistic State." There is no class division and no caste division. All are important in that State created in the drama.

The dramatist introduces the theme of the drama in the prologue as the story of a young Brahmin merchant of the city of Avantī (Ujjayinī), Cārudatta by name, young and fallen into evil days, having become poor and his love for the young lady named Vasantasenā, charming like the beauty of the spring season, and their happy union and joy in life after the process of law and its deflections from the right path through the misrepresentation and influences of wicked persons. In the drama there is the story of the love between a young couple intertwined with a political plot. The characters that play their part in the main story are also the people that help in solving the knots in the political plot, and the events in the main story also help the final release of the imprisoned king who was the legitimate claimant to the throne. The two plots are very cleverly handled. It is good literature, good poetry and good drama. There is plot, there is characterisation. There is feeling, there are reverses, there is triumph and joy. There is variety in characters, in situations and in events. All that makes a drama great are here.

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(d) KING HARṢA

After dealing with the drama that has been assigned to a king, Śūdraka by name, it is proper to deal with the dramas of another great king, though, from the strict chronological order, other dramas should have been taken up. In so far as we do not know the dates of some of the important authors definitely, it is better to ignore chronology and attach greater importance to affinities on other points. King Harṣa is one of the most prominent personalities in Indian history. While Śūdraka is a legendary king whose history has been shrouded in myths and tales, Harṣa is a truly historical king about whom we know much of a historical nature. He was a king of Kanauj, son of Prabhākara Vardhana and younger brother of Rājya Vardhana. After the death of Rājya Vardhana, his younger brother came to the throne, and Harṣa Vardhana ruled the country for about forty years and in the end, though a great warrior and conqueror who established a great empire, he was himself defeated by a king called Pulakeśin II. He had a historian in Bāṇa, who has immortalised this great king in his famous historical romance, the *Harṣacarita* (Harṣa's history).

In his time a great pilgrim from China, Hiuan Tsang, came to India and his records form a great help in reconstructing the history of his reign. Besides being a great warrior and conqueror, he was also a great patron of learning and himself a great poet. There are three dramas that have come down to us as the works of King Harṣa. His capital was Sthāṇvīśvara (Taneswar) in the country of Kanauj (Kānyakubja). Even from the early times there has been some tradition according to which one of the dramas (the *Priya-darśikā*) was actually written by another poet named Dhāvaka and given to the king as the latter's work in return for rich presents. There has been a general belief in recent times that kings are not the real authors in the case of the large number of works that have come down to us as the works of royal authors. But we need not seriously consider this point at all. In India, kings have been great poets, literary men, philosophers, masters of arts like music. and promoters of learning. It is rather surprising that there has been such a tradition in India itself, and the wonder is all the more because it is not the best of the three dramas, but the worst of them that has been ascribed to another author as accepted by the king as his own work in return for immense presents. If the king wanted fame through the works of another author, he would have selected another drama, and if the king is himself the author of the other two, then such an author would not have cared to be known as the author of this work written by another.

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i. *Priyadarśikā* and *Ratnāvalī*

The two dramas, the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Ratnāvalī*, have more or less the same theme. They have also a common technique. Each is a drama of four Acts with the great king Udayana, the hero of Bhāsa's two dramas, the *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa* and the *Svapna-vāsavadatta*, as hero. The plot is more or less what is found in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, and the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* of Bhāsa. In the *Priyadarśikā*, some events in the life of the hero during his imprisonment in the palace of his enemy, king Pradyota, as found in the *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa* of Bhāsa, are referred. There was a king named Dhṛtavarman who had a daughter name Priyadarśikā, and the king wanted to have her married to Udayana, the king of Vatsas. But the Kaliṅga king wanted to marry her; when Udayana was in prison, this Kaliṅga king attacked King Dhṛtavarman, but the daughter was saved by the chamberlain and entrusted to another king named Vindhyaketu. Vindhyaketu came into conflict with Udayana after the latter's escape, and Udayana defeated him, and among the riches that he gained was this princess, whom Udayana entrusted to his queen Vāsavadattā as a companion with the name Āraṇyikā. The king fell in love with her and used to talk to his confidential companion, the *Vidūṣaka*, about her and his love for her. When one day the king was thus talking about her, she herself came to the garden and overheard the conversation. Her friends left her, and at that time a bee attacked her (a point that reminds one of the bee incident in the first Act of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*), and she ran into the arms of the king in her confusion. There was an aged and learned lady in the court named Sāṅkṛtyāyanī who composed a drama describing the marriage of King Udayana with Vāsavadattā, and in this drama to be performed before the queen, the part of Vāsavadattā was to be taken by the princess living there as Āraṇyikā; and secretly the confidential companion of the king and another lady named Manoramā, who should have played the part of the king, managed to have that part played by the king himself without the queen having any idea of the plot. Here we find the influence of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, in this context. When the performance was going on, the queen had her misgivings in spite of the assurances of the aged lady Sāṅkṛtyāyanī; she left the hall and saw the king's confidential companion asleep. She woke him up and he gave out the whole secret to her. The king tried to appease her, but she would not listen. Then the identity of the princess, living as Āraṇyikā, was revealed when she was kept in prison by the orders of the queen. At this stage, it was found that the father of the princess was able to defeat the Kaliṅga king who had invaded him earlier and to re-establish himself on the throne. Along with this news came the news that the

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princess in prison had taken poison, and the king was the only person who could cure her. The king brought her back to life, and the whole story ended well with the marriage of the king with Priyadarśikā, who was living there as Āraṇyikā.

In the *Ratnāvalī*, Yaugandharāyaṇa, the minister of Udayana, planned a marriage of the king with the daughter of the king of Ceylon, and for this purpose, he spread a news that the queen Vāsavadattā was burnt to death in an accident in a village where she was camping. Then the king of Ceylon agreed to have his daughter married to Udayana and to send her to his country. On the way, when the party was crossing the sea, there was a ship wreck, and the princess was saved by a merchant of Kauśāmbī, the capital city of Udayana, and was entrusted to the queen as her companion. The queen kept her away from the king lest the king might fall in love with her. But fate gave a new turn to the course of events and occasions arose for the king to meet the princess who was living there with the name of Sāgarikā (born from the ocean). During the celebration of a Spring Festival, the princess heard the eulogy of the God of Love (Kāma); she thought that that was a eulogy of the king himself, being the embodiment of that Lord of Love, but knew the truth later. Sāgarikā had painted the picture of the king and another lady, a companion of the princess in incognito, added her own picture beside. The princess admitted her love for the king during the conversation. At that time a monkey that had escaped was creating terror in the palace, breaking a cage in which there was a parrot; the parrot in the cage flew to the garden and sitting on the tree began to repeat the conversation of the princess and the other lady where the former confessed her love for the king. The king and his confidential companion overheard the parrot's words and coming to the palace saw the picture also where the king and the princess were painted together. The princess and her companion overheard the conversation of the king and his confidential companion, and in the end, the king and the princess found themselves face to face. The queen came there and their meeting was thus cut short. The king tried to appease her in vain and the queen departed. The king's confidential companion prepared a plot where the princess in the guise of the queen was to meet the king; but the queen knew of this and she went there in the place of the princess. The king began to make love to her thinking that he was talking to the princess in the guise of the queen; the queen reproached him for such lack of faith and departed. When the princess went there in the guise of the queen, it was too late; she knew about the plight of the king and thought of committing suicide by tying a noose

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round her neck, but her attempt was foiled by the sudden arrival of the king and his confidential companion; they thought that it was the queen herself; but he knew her identity, and when the king and the princess were exchanging love the queen again came there and saw the lovers united. She carried away the princess and the king's confidential companion as prisoners. Later the king's confidential companion was released but the princess was kept in prison. Good news arrived of the victory of Udayana's commander-in-chief Rumaṇvān over the Kosala king and the death of the latter in the fight. At that time a magician came, and he was permitted to exhibit his art; but the performance was interrupted by the arrival of two of the escorts of the princess in the ship wreck and they narrated their experiences. At this stage, report was brought that the palace was on fire and the queen announced that the princess (living there as a companion by name Sāgarikā) was within that part of the palace. The king rushed in to save her. It was just a device of the magician; when the princess appeared, the other escorts who had arrived at that time recognised her as the princess meant to be married to the king. The minister Yaugandharāyaṇa appeared and announced his plot in bringing the magician. The queen was very happy to entertain the princess, Ratnāvalī, as another queen. This union was sure to help the king in becoming an emperor. Thus the whole plot of Yaugandharāyaṇa succeeded and the story ended in happiness to all.

There can be no doubt about the similarity in the technique of the two dramas, the identity of the main story and of the hero and the queen. There is a very intricate plot developed out of the simple story which forms the theme. In the works of Bhāsa and of Kālidāsa, the simplicity of the story is maintained; but the dramatist here introduces all sorts of devices to bring about very complicated situations. Will a dramatist write two dramas of the same story with the same hero in this way? In point of poetry, the *Ratnāvalī* is a far better play than the *Priyadarśikā*. It is the former that has won fame in Sanskrit literature while the latter was preserved only on account of its association with Harṣa as author. But no one has questioned the identity of authorship in the case of the two dramas. My own view is that king Harṣa wrote only the *Ratnāvalī* and that the *Priyadarśikā* was written by another, who after the death of the royal dramatist, gave out his own work as also the drama of Harṣa. Side by side with this, there arose the story of the drama having been written by another and of its having been fathered on the king by that poet, receiving rich presents from the king. I am definite that the king would not have given presents to a poet to have his own name associated with that poet's work as its author and I also

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feel that the *Priyadarśikā* is not the drama of King Harṣa. The story of another poet having written the drama has some basis; but the whole story is not true.

ii. *Nāgānanda*

The *Nāgānanda* of king Harṣa is one of the best dramas in the Sanskrit language, deserving a place alongside of the best dramas in any language in the world. Though deserving the same rank which the *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka have, it forms a type in itself. The story is taken from Buddhistic sources, the hero being one of the *Bodhisattvas,* future Buddha. The other two dramas of king Harṣa are realistic, the story being related to historical heroes living in their palaces surrounded by men and presented in situations familiar in a palace, as in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa and the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* of Bhāsa; there is little of the Supernatural in them. What Supernatural there is in them is the elements of the Supernatural that are familiar in popular beliefs as current at that time. When we come to the *Nāgānanda,* we pass on to a region of semi-supernaturalism, though the scene is laid in the earthly regions, just like the *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa. The hero and the heroine belong to the order of beings coming within the class of demigods. Mythological characters like Garuḍa, the divine bird, and the great Goddess, Gaurī, make their appearance in the drama.

The drama was written for being performed at a festival in honour of Indra, the Lord of Heaven. It has five Acts. The story appears in a book of tales called the *Vetāla-pañca-viṁśati,* though King Harṣa must have had access to earlier sources. There are two orders of demigods, the Vidyādharas and the Siddhas. The king of the Vidyādharas had a son named Jīmūtavāhana and the king of the Siddhas had a son named Mitrāvasu and a daughter named Malayavatī. This princess had a dream in which the Goddess revealed to her her future husband. The king of the Vidyādharas was old and desired to retire from administrative duties, and his son Jīmūtavāhana too did not care to sit on the throne and decided to go with the father and mother for penance in the forest, placing the younger brother on the throne. In the forest Jīmūtavāhana went to a temple where there were two young ladies in conversation, and he in the company of his confidential companion overheard their conversation when the princess was talking to her companion about her dream in which she had a vision of the future husband. Then the hero and his confidential companion went in and the two met and love arose in them for each other. At that stage, the princess

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had to depart. Another day, the princess was sitting in the garden in a state of despondency about her love; she had to move away and at that time the hero and his confidential companion came there. They talked about his love and he painted a picture of the object of his love. At that time the brother of the princess came there and offered the hand of his sister to the hero, which he rejected in so far as he was deeply in love with the princess whom he did not know as the very sister of the son of the Siddhas whose hand was offered to him. The princess was very unhappy about this and she decided to commit suicide by hanging herself from the branch of a tree when her companion had moved away. But the hero rescued her and showed her the picture he had painted of the object of his love. She was satisfied; the marriage was settled and there was a grand festivity in the city in connection with this marriage of a prince and a princess. The festivity is described in an interlude between the second and the third Acts. This interlude is full of comic situations when people were drinking and revelling. The hero's confidential companion is caught hold of by some citizens and compelled to drink alcohol.

It happened that the hero and his brother-in-law, Mitrāvasu, were on the mountain-side and Mitrāvasu was called away. The hero was full of thoughts about self-sacrifice and service to others, for which there was no scope in a forest though the forest satisfied all his needs—food and drink and companions—as there were plenty of fruits and roots and water in the brooks and rocks for seats and grass for a bed and antelopes for companions. Now, there had been a long-standing feud between the serpents and the divine bird Garuḍa, and they came to a truce according to which each day a serpent was to go to Garuḍa as his prey, so that Garuḍa would stop destroying the serpents in numbers day by day. The bones of the serpents became a big heap and the hero had already seen that heap ahead; he was full of remorse and looked for a chance to save them. At that time there appeared that day's prey, a very young and handsome serpent, with his mother who was wailing on account of the imminent death of her dear son. The hero knew the situation and offered his own person as a substitute, which neither the mother nor the son would accept. They retired to a concealed place for a final prayer leaving a red robe on a stone where the victim was to stand covered in a red robe. The hero had his chance and he covered himself with that red robe and stood on the stone, when the bird Garuḍa appeared and snatched him away. The real prey and the mother came there and found that the hero had substituted

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himself for the young serpent. They were full of grief at the death of the hero on their account.

The parents of the hero were waiting for the hero to return and when it was getting very late, they along with the newly-married princess went to the place where the hero was spending his time; they knew of the calamity from the serpent and his mother. They all followed the path of the hero by noting the blood drops that had fallen from the body of the hero while he was being carried away by the bird. They reached the place where the bird had placed the victim on a rock and was sucking the blood from the body of the hero. The bird was surprised at the courage and vitality of the new prey, the like of which he had never known. Instead of dying or showing signs of pain, the hero had only exhibited his look of calmness and contentment. The party reached the place. The mother of the hero was complaining on their way, when she knew the circumstances under which her son made such a self-sacrifice, that he did not think of the grief of his own mother in his eagerness to save the mother of another young person from the grief of the loss of a dear son. The hero was expiring. The heroine prayed to the great Goddess who made Her appearance. She rebuked the divine bird for his cruelty and ordered that he fly to Heaven and bring the nectar with which they could bring to life not only the victim of that day's cruelty but also all the serpents that had been killed by the bird all along previously. The bird flew up and in an instant brought the nectar from Heaven and by a shower of the nectar all the serpents were revived when only their bones had remained till then.

It is for this reason that the drama is known as *Nāgānanda* (*Nāga*=Serpent and *Ānanda*=Joy). In so far as the hero is a *Bodhisattva* (a future Buddha) and in so far as the story is found in Buddhistic literature, there is a view that the drama is Buddhistic. It may have been a Buddhistic legend in origin; but it has found its way to the *Bṛhat-kathā* (the great Story-Book) and also to another collection of stories called the *Vetāla-pañca-viṁśati* (twenty-five stories told by a supernatural being called *Vetāla*). They are not Buddhistic texts. All that we can say is that the story is simply Indian. There is the exposition of the spirit of self-sacrifice of a future Buddha in the story. But King Harṣa has handled the story in his own way. The hero decided to renounce all his cares in the world and to spend his life in penance as a way to get liberation from the sins and sufferings in this world. But when he reached the forest for this purpose, the world chased him in the form of his future mate; he fell in love with her and married her. This shows that one cannot

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kick off the world; in such an attempt the world will follow one and entangle him in the affairs of life in this world. Then he wanted to sacrifice his own life to protect another person. Here there is the teaching of the undesirability of such exhibitions of a sentimental spirit of self-sacrifice contained in the words of the mother of the hero that it was thoughtlessness on his part to have attempted to save another mother without having any regard for the feelings of his own mother. What one can see in the drama, in the way in which the theme is developed by the dramatist, is a precept against renunciation and against thoughtless self-sacrifice. The theme may originally have been Buddhistic, but the drama represents the Vedic ideal revived in the Purāṇic age. It is the same philosophy of life that we see in this drama, which we have seen in the various Grand Epics and in the dramas of the Classical Age, and also in the *Itihāsas,* the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa;* there is a glorification of life in this world and a practical approach to its problems.

This too, like the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka, would have become a technical Tragedy in the hands of another poet; but there is a natural turn of events; the reversion of the fortunes of the hero becomes revocable through natural developments of events, and a tragedy is averted and everything ends well. The appearance of the Goddess in response to the prayers of the heroine in her despair may be a supernatural event in ordinary life, but is quite natural in the development of the plot of the drama. The whole theme is supernatural. It is in this sense that the turn of events from one of despondency to joy is natural within the drama. There is no straining of the natural course of events in this culmination.

Unlike the other two dramas of King Harṣa, the story is simple in origin and also in handling. The plot does not at all become intricate through the introduction of various events that take us by surprise, without any indication of such events taking place made in the earlier part. Here the final event is more or less indicated in the temple scene, where the hero and the heroine first meet. The devotion of the heroine to the great Goddess is introduced in the earlier part and this develops into the final event in the plot, the turn of a tragedy into joy through the Grace of the Goddess. Even otherwise, the divine bird would have been ashamed of his mistake in having snatched away a person who was innocent and who was not his legitimate prey, and would have done exactly the same thing, in the presence of the crowd of persons for whose grief he was responsible.

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(e) VIŚĀKHADATTA

Viśākhadatta is the author of an admirable drama called the *Mudrā-rākṣasa.* In this drama there is an idealisation and glorification of diplomacy. He took for his theme the story of Cāṇakya, also known as Kauṭilya, the author of the work on politics called the *Artha-śāstra* (the science of *Artha* or acquisitions). This work has been published more than fifty years ago. The Nandas were the emperors of the kingdom of Magadha, and the last of the Nandas was exterminated by a young and valiant hero named Candragupta, the Sandrakotos of the historians of Alexander. The drama depicts the efforts of the minister of this new king, Cāṇakya, to restore order in the kingdom and establish the king securely on the throne. There was the minister of the Nandas named Rākṣasa. There was another king named Parvatesvara (the Mountain Lord), and his son Malayaketu (identified by some as Seleucus, reading the name as Salayaketu) tried to gain the throne with the help of Rākṣasa. Cāṇakya wanted to bring Rākṣasa back as minister to the new king, since so long as he was an enemy there would be no security for the king on the throne. He was himself prepared to retire after he had accomplished his mission of placing the new king firmly on the throne. For this purpose, he picked up a quarrel with the king and sent news to Rākṣasa about the quarrel between the king and his minister so that Rākṣasa might think of once more taking up his position as the minister. To secure admission for his messenger to the presence of Rākṣasa, he used a seal (*Mudrā*) which he secured by a guile and with which he prepared a "Pass". For this reason the drama is called *Mudrā* (Seal)-*Rākṣasa.* Through the strategies of Cāṇakya, Rākṣasa again became the minister of the king and the king became secure on the throne, having nothing more to fear from his rival Malayaketu, whom Rākṣasa abandoned in favour of the new king on the throne.

It is a drama of plots and counter-plots, intrigues, treachery, forgery and falsehood and all such devices that can help a person to secure his end. Coercion plays its part in full. A rich merchant is imprisoned for harbouring the wife and children of Rākṣasa, and when the ring of Rākṣasa fell down from the hands of his wife, Cāṇakya's agent picked it up and gave it to Cāṇakya. Rākṣasa sent a poison-girl to kill Candragupta, and Cāṇakya turned that girl on to Parvateśvara, who died at her touch. That is how his son Malayaketu became Candragupta's enemy. Cāṇakya compelled the scribe of Rākṣasa to write a letter in his own hand-writing and used the seal to secure a "Pass" for his agent to the presence of Rākṣasa.

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We see in the drama characters drawn from various strata of society and a Buddhist monk is also introduced. Except the wife of a merchant named Candanadāsa, there are no women characters in the drama, a very unique feature in a Sanskrit drama. There is impersonation, there is the appearance of friends as enemies through the stratagem of Cāṇakya. Here we find the working of a master intellect, able to detect every plot arranged against the king by the enemy and to turn them on to the enemy of the king. The enemies entertain as friends agents sent by Cāṇakya. A false quarrel is picked up through the machinations of Cāṇakya. The drama is full of intrigues and the plot is full of intricacies. It is a drama full of action and exciting situations; surprises follow surprises. It is very difficult to keep the thread of the story in hand without losing the ends. Even the king falls a prey to Cāṇakya's intrigue in coming into quarrel with the minister. The king wanted to have a celebration of the Spring Festival and Cāṇakya reviled and rebuked him for his indolence and his love of luxuries at a time when he should have been collecting an army. Cāṇakya speaks about his ever being vigilant against the plots of the enemies, and has even a contempt for the stupidity of those who try their stratagems against him. It is good poetry; the characterisations are excellent and the construction of the plot is very skilfully effected. The drama is full of life and movement. The nerves are always highly strung and there are no comic scenes, so to say, to relieve the strain. It is only at the end when we find Rākṣasa starting to meet the king that our mind finds some ease and peace. It is a theme of post-war diplomacy to consolidate the gains of war. It is very realistic even with a vengeance. We see nothing of Nature; there are only men in active life with no time for enjoyment at leisure. There is no music, no revels; there is only a political life of diplomacy, one master mind controlling the whole machine. The heart of man has no place in the drama; it is full of intellect. Even the slight emotional fits of Rākṣasa only serve to bring the intellect of Cāṇakya into greater relief and has no independent effect. The drama is a great change from heroes and heroines and their loves and their sufferings and their final triumph found in the majority of dramas. Here there is the triumph of intellect and of activity, and yet it is a beautiful drama, all the same.

Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Mudrā-rākṣasa*, was the son of a minister and grandson of a feudatory chief; though not a king, he had royal blood in him. He may most likely be a contemporary of Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. At the end of the drama he prays that king Candra-

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gupta may rule over the earth for a long time. Candragupta of the Maurya dynasty, contemporary of Alexander, is the hero and he cannot be the Candragupta mentioned in this final benedictory verse. It must be his namesake of the Gupta dynasty, who is compared to the great God Viṣṇu in his Incarnation as a Boar to lift up the earth that had been trampled down by the demons, and the Candragupta mentioned in the final benedictory verse is spoken of as having lifted up the earth that was being trampled down by the Mlecchas, the foreign enemies. Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty has such exploits to his credit and it is very likely that in this verse there is a reference to him as the ruling king.

(f) BHAṬṬA NĀRĀYAṆA

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa's drama known as the *Veṇī-saṁhāra,* is a companion to the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta, for its spirit of heroism and intense activity to win a great end. The theme is taken from the *Mahābhārata.* The five brothers who came out triumphant in the Great War had to go into exile on account of the treachery of their cousins, having lost their kingdom and all their possessions in a gambling game with the cousins. The kingdom was to be restored if they returned after thirteen years; thirteen years elapsed and there was no will on the part of the cousins to restore the kingdom according to the understanding. Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the five brothers, was very reluctant to plunge the whole country into a deadly war and wanted to come to some sort of understanding with the enemy, and had sent Śrī Kṛṣṇa for mediation. The story begins at this stage.

Bhīma the eldest among the four younger brothers of Yudhiṣṭhira, with his strong arms, had been thirsting to use his physical strength against his enemies who had brought about such sufferings and humiliations on them, and the queen Draupadī was feeling the burning sensation in her heart on account of the insult which she was put to by the enemy in the royal assembly at the time of their defeat in gambling and the surrender of the kingdom and possessions; she was waiting for the time when, at the end of the stipulated time, she could have her revenge on the persons who had brought about that plight on them. Both were furious at the attempt for a compromise with such an enemy, and the queen was happy only when Śrī Kṛṣṇa told her that there would be no compromise as his mission had failed and that a war would be fought where the enemies would have their reward for the wrongs they had heaped on them. Bhīma was equally furious and even threatened to repudiate his elder brother if there was to be a compromise.

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Then we are introduced to the enemy, Suyodhana, in a domestic setting in the company of his queen who had a dream that a hundred serpents would be killed by a mongoose (*Nakula*, which is also the name of one of the five brothers, the enemies of Suyodhana). The War had already started. Suyodhana was at first afraid but later took courage and appeased the queen, who performed some rituals to avert the future evil. Another lady, wife of one of the warriors on his side, appeared full of fear about her husband who had killed the son of Arjuna (the third among the five brothers) and Suyodhana passified her also; then he mounted his chariot.

Droṇa, the leader of the army after the fall of Bhīṣma (the great grand-uncle and the greatest warrior of the day who was the first to lead the army), was killed, and Karṇa became the army leader. He too was killed. In the end Suyodhana and Bhīma had a duel, in which Suyodhana fell down. One of the insults which the queen had suffered at the hands of Suyodhana was that she was dragged by the hair by the brother of Suyodhana, named Duśśāsana. She took a vow that she would never after tie up her hair until she had her revenge on the enemy. Now Duśśāsana and Suyodhana were both killed by Bhīma, and Bhīma tied up the hair of the queen with his hands besmeared with the blood of the enemies. It is for this reason that the drama is called *Veṇī* (Hair)-*Saṁhāra* (tying up).

This is a drama of martial heroism. The queen Draupadī cannot be considered to be a female character; she was more manly than any hero. The appearance of Suyodhana's queen and of the other lady who was the wife of one of the warriors, helped only to bring into prominence the ultimate end of the war as indicated by her dream and by the fears of the other lady. The opening scene where Queen Draupadī and the mighty Bhīma appear and where one of the younger brothers, Sahadeva, tries to pacify him, is full of emotional appeal. When Droṇa, the leader of the army, fell, there was a dispute about succession to that coveted post, and there arose a quarrel between the two claimants. One was Aśvatthāmā, the son of the fallen leader and the other Karṇa, king of the Aṅga country, the closest ally of Suyodhana and one of the greatest warriors of his day. Aśvatthāmā was a Brahmin, whose profession was learning, and Karṇa, the king, taunted him on this account, when, on the open stage, he broke off his thread worn round his neck as an emblem of his being a Brahmin, so that his community affiliation should not be a bar to his leading an army. This quarrel scene too is very appealing. Then in the end we meet with Suyodhana, fallen on the ground in the duel, with his thigh broken with a hit from Bhīma. We met

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him earlier as a loving husband to the queen and here we find all his nobility of character and human tenderness. He heard about the death of his brother and of his closest ally Karṇa. Suyodhana wanted to continue the battle and was ready to rush to the field of battle even in that condition, while his parents pleaded with him to come to terms with his enemy and have peace. This is another touching scene.

Here there is an episode; Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest brother, and the queen heard of the death of Suyodhana at the hands of Bhīma. But there appeared a *Cārvāka* (one who follows the materialistic school of philosophy) who was really a demon, and announced that both Bhīma and Arjuna had fallen at the hands of the enemy. Both of them decide to end their lives on hearing of this calamity. But a voice was heard and Yudhiṣṭhira thought that it was Suyodhana and rushed to take up arms, and Draupadī fled. Really it was Bhīma, who caught hold of Draupadī and tied up her hair with his hands besmeared with the blood of Suyodhana and his brother Duśśāsana.

There is plenty of action, and the characters are well drawn out. There is fire, there is briskness, there is energy. But there is little of actual movement found on the stage, as there is too much of narration of events than exhibition of actions. So many things we know from reports on the stage by other characters. There is a small love scene, when Suyodhana and the queen appear with the report of her dream, which scene appears to be utterly misplaced. Indian tradition also disapproves that scene. Suyodhana is valiant, self-confident, assertive and a little suspicious of his own people like Droṇa and his son Aśvatthāmā. He has implicit faith in Karṇa. Aśvatthāmā is a little emotional, full of heroism, proud of his achievements and insistent on his claims. Karṇa is boastful and defiant of any opposition. Bhīma is reckless and has no other thought than war. Arjuna, the other brother of Yudhiṣṭhira, is valiant, calm and collected, knowing when to hit, and hitting hard at the right moment. Yudhiṣṭhira is full of forbearance, eager to avoid a disaster which would fall on the people in the event of war and prepared to give up his own claims in the interest of the general people; he is even a little effeminate. In contrast to him is the manly woman, Draupadī, his queen, who can never forget the insult and humiliation and who would be satisfied with nothing short of the complete destruction of the enemy and thus wreaking the deserved vengeance on them. The queen of Suyodhana is the usual woman, always afraid of danger to her husband, preferring a comfortable life in

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the palace without any dangers of war rather than welcoming honour through heroism.

This is not the theme where we can have Nature. But there is plenty of supernaturalism with demons and goblins coming in along with heroes and warriors. It is a drama of war, preparation for war and consequences of war. We see warriors, battle-field, jealousy and rivalry among warriors trying to get higher positions in the army, dead bodies strewn on the ground and blood flowing on the surface of the battle-field. War is fought with valour, and there is no scrupulousness in resorting to any means that will bring victory. Falsehood and foul play have their share in the execution of the war. There is no sentimental virtuosity standing in the way of final victory when two parties are engaged in a deadly war. Victory is the only motive and the characters are drawn up to bring this ideal to the forefront.

The language is lucid, but there are very long compounds even in the prose portion during the dialogues. The style is fitted to bring out the emotional effects very clearly. We breathe an air of heroism in the whole drama. The dramatist is a master in the art of keeping the audience in a state of arrested attention, in a state of excitement, with their nerves highly strung, with little of relief; there are varieties in the scenes, but without any comic touch to bring about any mental relief to the audience. Perhaps, after the fury of Bhīma and of Draupadī in the beginning of the drama, the presence of Suyodhana with his queen is in sharp contrast with the presence of Bhīma and Draupadī. But that is not the occasion for any sort of ease for the mind, since even at that stage the real excitement has not started. Perhaps some sort of change after the quarrel of the two heroes might have been welcome. This scene has a close resemblance to the quarrel scene of Brutus and Cassius in the *Julius Caesar* of Shakespeare. Here is again a similarity in the working of the minds of great artists without any possibility of one influencing the other. In the scene where Suyodhana and his queen appear and where there is the report of a dream, we see again some resemblance to the scene in *Julius Caesar*. In this and in the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta, we see war and post-war strategy; here we see war itself.

We know practically nothing of the date and personality of the dramatist. We know him as Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. Various places have been suggested as his native country. Some kings have been associated with him. But everything is a conjecture. It must be one of the early dramas in Sanskrit. It is not unlikely that the

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drama belongs to the same period when the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* was also written, a time when foreigners like the Scythians and the Huns were invading the country and when the people had a very anxious time and when poets were trying through their art to revive in the nation the martial heroism that was getting dormant owing to the prevalence of the latter-day philosophy of self-sacrifice and forbearance. It is the same spirit that we found in the *Nāgānanda* of king Harṣa, though in that drama there is no attempt at evoking the martial spirit of the people, but only the sense of realism in matters of life. In the time of Harṣa, there was little scope for martial heroism against foreign invaders, since they were all supressed by that time. From the spirit of the drama, some time in the fifth century A.D. would be the probable time of the drama. But scholars accept only a slightly later date, in the seventh or eighth century, for the drama. This drama and Bhāravi's Grand Epic, the *Kirātārjunīya,* form a pair, evoking the martial spirit of the nation which is one of the most prominent traits in the national genius of India. They are also contemporaneous with each other in all probability.

(g) BHAVABHŪTI

According to Indian tradition, Bhavabhūti stands next to Kālidāsa in the matter of eminence as a poet. They cannot be contemporaries, being separated from each other by at least four hundred years, even if we accept the very late date for Kālidāsa that is suggested, i.e., as a contemporary of the great Gupta emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries; yet there are many stories current in India in which Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti are brought together; they are contrasted with each other as the Kālidāsa with his natural talent and the Bhavabhūti with his erudition. It is also found in tradition that, according to Kālidāsa's judgement, Bhavabhūti's drama known as the *Uttara-rāma-carita* is the best production of that age.

There is little difficulty to ascertain the date of Bhavabhūti, as he is mentioned by the historian poet Kalhaṇa in his historical poem, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (the Ocean of Kings); he was a contemporary of King Yaśovarman of *Kanyākubja* (Kanauj) who was defeated by King Lalitāditya of Kāshmir; and so the date must be about 700 A.D. He himself gives much information about his own personal affairs, in the prologue to his plays and we know from this statement that he was born at a place called Padmapura, which has been identified with different places in modern times. His real name was Śrīkaṇṭha, and there is a tradition that he acquired the name Bhavabhūti, because the word appears in a verse attributed to him, which is a very

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interesting verse. His family was renowned for erudition and for their orthodox life by performing the various rituals prescribed. There is also a reference to the fact that originally he was an authoritative writer of works on philosophy and that he took to writing dramas only at a later stage, and in this connection, his drama the *Mālatī-mādhava* has been specifically mentioned. His merits were not recognised at first and in the drama called the *Mālatī-mādhava* he says in the prologue that there may be people who talk disparagingly about him and that they too may not be ignorant; but he wrote his works not for them; he was certain that there would arise some one who would have views similar to his own in so far as the world is extensive and time is infinite. In his other drama, the *Uttara-rāma-carita,* Bhavabhūti says that in judging literary works even good people become bad.

Three dramas of his have come down to us; certainly he must have written more, since in his extant dramas he speaks of the adverse criticisms levelled against his works which must be his literary ventures after his career as a writer of philosophical works. He has been identified with some writers on philosophy whose works have come down to us. But the identifications have yet to be substantiated; there are difficulties in accepting such identifications. All that we know definitely is that he had written philosophical works in his early days, which works were recognised as authoritative, and that the dramatic works of his belong to a later age in his life. The philosopher with whom he is identified died as an ascetic, and it is rather impossible that he wrote dramas in his old age when he was an ascetic. There are other difficulties too; in a history of literature, this point need not be taken note of beyond such a mere mention.

i. *Mahāvīra-carita*

Of the three dramas of Bhavabhūti now available, the *Mahāvīra-carita* seems to be the earliest. The drama was not available in its complete form for a long time, and within the last two centuries, some poet had completed it by himself and written a commentary for the whole drama; recently the missing portion too has been found out. The whole story of Srī Rāma from the earliest days to the victory over his enemy Rāvaṇa is dealt with in the drama. It must be confessed that the dramatist has taken considerable liberties with the original story and in this he has shown also his originality. The great change that the dramatist has brought about is that while in the original Rāvaṇa appears on the scene only rather late in the development of the plot, here he appears even from the very begin-

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ning as a rival suitor to the heroine Sītā, who married Srī Rāma. Various episodes are brought together into a unity of motive, and characters who are isolated in the original are brought together as allies and collaborators. The drama derives its name from being the story (*Carita*) of the great warrior (*Mahā-vīra*).

The dramatist has been able to bring together the detached events of the original into an artistic unity; there is a central motive in which all the detached characters are brought together as collaborators; this is the great originality of the dramatist. It is a drama of events narrated in long dialogues and not a drama of the presentation of the movement of the story on the stage. At the close of the drama there is the story of the journey of Śrī Rāma and Sītā, the heroine, in an aerial vehicle from Laṅkā (Ceylon) to their capital after his triumph over his enemy, and in this journey, Śrī Rāma describes to Sītā, the various places below. Here is a word-painting of scenes in the form of a dialogue between the hero and the heroine.

The poetry is good; but there is no life in the characters as there is little of action presented on the stage. It is more a good poem in dialogue than a drama. There is consequently little that can be called character delineation. There are no surprises in the development of the plot, though the dramatist has been able to create a unitary plot from the detached events in the life of the hero found in the original. Various characters not found in the original are introduced in the drama and those characters that appear in the original are introduced in different contexts in the drama and in different relationships also. There is also considerable liberty taken in handling the events. This originality brings in a real interest in the drama. But there are no excitements. The story is found moving through dialogues by characters that appear on the stage. There is a simplicity retained in the re-arrangement of the simple story in the original. It is a good drama and really good poetry; it is not what can be called a great drama.

ii. *Mālatī-mādhava*

This may be his second drama among the three that are now available. But there is no real evidence to determine the relative chronology of the two dramas. The story in this drama is original, not taken from the ancient epics. The theme must have been current in the various story books of his times. It is a story about the citizens like the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka. The plot is very cleverly handled and the dramatist must have taken considerable liberty in

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handling the original plot. Many of the characters must also have been his original creations; so must many of the events too have been. The characters have life and there is a real movement in the story presented on the stage, instead of the narration of the story in dialogue form. It is a great drama and also good poetry. There is plenty of the exhibition of emotional outbursts. Perhaps this latter factor has been a little overdone, on account of the various occasions when characters faint on the stage, a factor which is practically not found in the dramas of earlier dramatists.

The story relates to two ministers who were class-mates; at the end of their study they came to an understanding that if one of them had a son and the other a daughter, they would effect a marriage between the children, and it so turned out that they had a son and a daughter respectively, named Mādhava (the son) and Mālatī (the daughter). As the story of this pair, the drama was given that name. Now it happened that the father of the heroine was minister to a king whose brother-in-law (queen's brother) wanted to get that daughter as his wife. The king took up his cause too, placing the minister in a rather inconvenient position.

The two ministers had as class-mates two ladies also who later joined the Monastic Order; they were witnesses to the mutual agreement of the two ministers about the marriage of their children and they continued their friendship with the ministers and decided to work for the frustration of the king's attempts and for helping the ministers in getting their children joined together in wedlock. They did not want the minister to incur the displeasure of the king and took up the whole affair on themselves. They arranged that a friend of the hero named Makaranda dress himself up as a girl and go to the marriage of the brother-in-law of the king as the heroine and that the marriage of the hero and the heroine be conducted in a temple, unknown to the king. This stratagem forms the central core of the plot of the drama. There are many intricate situations and there are various exciting scenes and many surprises. There are also various adventures. The hero tries to propitiate the evil spirits of the burial ground by offering fresh flesh, to add to the efficacy of the help he is to receive from the nuns, and then he hears a wailing and finds that a priest in the temple was about to sacrifice the heroine as an offering to the deity. He saves her by killing the priest. Makaranda had an occasion to save from the clutches of a tiger, the life of the heroine's companion, who happened to be the sister of the king's brother-in-law, and they fell in love with each other. There are horrible scenes like the one in the burial ground. The plight of the minister, the nobility of the nuns, the

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courage of the hero and his companion, the despondency of the hero and the heroine, their passionate love, the deep pathos, the exciting situations, the dangerous adventures, the intrigue in the court, descriptions of the grand aspect of Nature—all make the drama one of the best in Sanskrit; it is no wonder that Bhavabhūti acquired in Indian tradition a place by the side of Kālidāsa, though a second place. In originality in handling the plot, in character delineation, in grand style, in chaste and polished expression, in the majesty of the language—Bhavabhūti has few equals.

iii. *Uttara-rāma-carita*

Just as Kālidāsa's fame depends mainly on his *Śākuntala,* the fame of Bhavabhūti, in spite of his *Mālatī-mādhava,* rests mainly on his *Uttara-rāma-carita.* This, as the name suggests, is the Later (*Uttara*) Rāma Story (*Rāma-carita*). It is a sequel, in point of theme, to the story of his other drama, the *Mahāvīra-carita.* It is decidedly a later work in the life of Bhavabhūti. The main theme is taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki; but Bhavabhūti, as in the case of his other dramas, is very original and independent in handling the story. He introduces new characters, he introduces new events and he alters the events also when it suits his art.

The story starts with the coronation of Śrī Rāma after his return from exile. There was a gossip spreading in the kingdom that during the captivity of the heroine in the custody of Rāvaṇa, her character might have been polluted and that still Śrī Rāma had accepted her as queen. Śrī Rāma did not want such an evil name for him and he was prepared to sacrifice his queen for the sake of peace and contentment in the kingdom. There was a series of paintings prepared of the scenes in the forest where they had spent such a long time, and the first Act shows Śrī Rāma describing the pictures to the queen Sītā; Sītā expressed a desire to re-visit the places and this gave Śrī Rāma an opportunity to send her to the forest and abandon her there. She was pregnant and she became the mother of two sons, whom the sage Vālmīki took charge of and educated properly. Śrī Rāma himself came to the forest at a later stage on some mission and had a meeting with Sītā who was concealed from his sight through some divine powers. There is much of fainting in this interview unknown to each other and unseen by each other. Śrī Rāma was performing the *Aśvamedha* (horse sacrifice) and at that time, Vālmīki had composed the life history of Śrī Rāma in a grand poem, which was taught to the two sons of Śrī Rāma; they recited the poem in the presence of Śrī Rāma. Then a drama was enacted in the presence of Śrī Rāma, in which the story of Sītā after

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her abandonment was depicted, and Sītā herself was brought to the scene on the stage.

There are various episodes introduced, partially taken from the original, partially modified from the original and partially invented by the dramatist himself. The sons of Śrī Rāma's brothers and the two sons of Śrī Rāma in the forest come into conflict, and Śrī Rāma also appears there. The parents of Sītā are also introduced and Rāma's mother also is brought on the scene. The entire plot is original, though some of the material is taken from the ancient epic.

It is a drama of tragic situations. Rāma's internal conflict forms the main point of interest in the drama. After their marriage at a very early age, they had been spending a happy life, equally happy both in the palace and in the forest; though polygamy was allowed at that time, he never had a second wife. Now that dear companion of all his happiness and suffering was separated from him on account of his sense of duty to the people, and he had to treat with regard the opinions of the people about him and his rule. When there was a regular public talk, spread even in the villages that the king had accepted a queen who had lost her purity during her captivity in the residence of a demon, how could he continue to allow her as his queen? We see this internal conflict throughout the drama. There is this conflict between his private life and his public life and he had to bestow greater regard to his public life; he was a king and the welfare of the people and the good opinion of the people were essential for the discharge of his duties as a king. He had sacrificed his private life and his love for his dear wife. He could do it only as a king, and as a man his love for the queen continued.

This note of deep pathos continues throughout the drama till in the end everything is resolved. In this drama we see Bhavabhūti at his best both in character delineation and handling the plot and also in the description of Nature. There is a happy combination of Nature and the supernatural; both are in equal proportions in the drama. We see forest nymphs and the presiding deities of rivers, and these characters play an active part in the development of the plot in the drama. We see the emotions of man and also the grandeur of Nature. In handling Nature we see the grand aspect in Bhavabhūti while we have the simple beauty of Nature in the works of Kālidāsa. When Bhavabhūti describes the forest scenery, his descriptions are grander than when Kālidāsa describes the Himalayas.

The language has mellowed down when we come to the *Uttara-rāma-carita* in comparison with his other dramas; the style has be-

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come simpler in this drama in comparison with his earlier dramas. It has been accepted by all that this must be a much later work in the life of Bhavabhūti in relation to the other two dramas, while these latter may not have been separated from each other by any appreciable span of time, and it is even difficult to say which of the two is earlier. That the *Mahāvīra-carita* is earlier than the *Mālatī-mādhava* is a theory that has been postulated by some, but not accepted by all as proved.

iv. *Comments*

Bhavabhūti has dramatised the whole of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and he has also written a drama dealing with a story of topical interest taken from the current collections of tales. There is a large variety in his characters and he has created his own characters even when he has taken the theme from the well-known ancient epics. In the other drama practically the whole theme is his own creation while he has taken just a bare outline from earlier sources. He is a master in character delineation, especially in describing the strong emotions of man. Bhavabhūti introduces young boys on the stage as great heroes in his *Uttara-rāma-carita*, and they are lively and they play a prominent part in the plot, a feature seldom seen in Sanskrit dramas. Even Bharata in Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* does not come up to this standard. Bhavabhūti is also a master in the description of Nature, and it is the grand aspects of Nature that he loves most. In the various dramas sketched above there are few in which there is anything that can be called Nature. It is only in Kālidāsa that there is a dominance of Nature, and this is true also of the epic poems. What Nature there is in the later epics are descriptions of Nature that the poets knew in their erudition and not what they felt in their heart. After Kālidāsa we come here to another poet who has known Nature in his heart and who has realised and enjoyed the beauties of Nature, and who has been able to express such beauties of Nature in poetic language. He loved Nature as did Kālidāsa and he wrote poetry because he felt and realised the beauties of Nature; he was in communion with Nature.

In handling the theme, Bhavabhūti made the plot rather complicated like many of the dramatists noted above. His *Uttara-rāma-carita* is the easiest among his three dramas in point of simplicity in plot construction and even here we do not see that simplicity which we see in the *Śākuntala*. Bhavabhūti introduces many characters and crowds the stage, and there are too many events introduced in constructing the plot. One is not able to keep steady in his mind all such characters and events and the role of the characters

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in such events. The sequence of events too becomes a little blurred, though the events follow events in a very natural way. In spite of the unity in the whole plot, the individual characters and their activities and the individual events become more prominent, and the unity is sometimes missed on account of such great attention demanded by the mass of events and the crowd of characters. Bhavabhūti gives plenty of scope for the various actors that take the different characters but the total effect is not so strong as in the case of the dramas of Kālidāsa or the *Nāgānanda* of King Harṣa. It is the combination of Nature and the heart of man that has given Bhavabhūti the place that he occupies among Sanskrit poets according to tradition in India; this feature is very prominent in Kālidāsa who for this reason occupies the first rank without a rival and without even an equal. Bhavabhūti is certainly the second in rank next to Kālidāsa as a great poet and as a great dramatist. Only three dramas have come down to us from the pen of Bhavabhūti. Stray verses are cited in anthologies from Bhavabhūti that are not traceable to his dramas and it is very likely that he has written many more works.

(h) MINOR TYPES

Even from very early times, as recorded by Bharata who was the first to give us a treatise on dramaturgy, so far as the available literature goes, there must have been a variety in dramatic patterns current in India. He speaks of ten varieties of dramas that were known to him. We may divide them into two classes, a major class and a minor class. The major class consists of two patterns, named the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakaraṇa*. The only difference is that in a *Nāṭaka*, the story is taken from ancient epics about kings and divine persons while in the *Prakaraṇa* the theme is taken from current story books, describing the ordinary citizens. These two types represent what may be styled the Classical or High-class dramas in Sanskrit.

There are eight other varieties of dramas mentioned by Bharata. For many of them there are no specimens available. A dramatist at the close of the twelfth century named Vatsarāja has written dramas illustrating all the types, according to the descriptions given by Bharata. But most of the types have become unpopular among poets in later times. Only two varieties have a large number of specimens among the eight, and they are called the *Bhāṇa* and the *Prahasana*. It is the Major type, the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakaraṇa*, that was really popular in later times. May be that many were written; but they are not preserved. Yet Bharata must have known a large number of works representing these various types; otherwise

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he would not have classified them and described them in his work on dramaturgy.

Of the dramas noted above, it would be found that in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of King Śūdraka and in the *Mālatī-mādhava* of Bhavabhūti, the heroes come from among the common people, a merchant and the son of a minister, and the story is not found in the ancient epics. They come under the type of *Prakaraṇas;* the remaining dramas are all called *Nāṭakas,* since their heroes are kings noticed in the ancient epics or in ancient chronicles, like King Agnimitra and King Udayana.

i. *Prahasana*

The earliest known work of this type in the post-Bharata age is the *Matta-vilāsa* (the exhilaration of a drunkard). It is a parody on the members of Monastic Orders who did not deserve to renounce the world and join the Order, with their love affairs and their drinking habits and their quarrels about petty possessions. The drama was written by a king who lived in the seventh century. It has been very popular on the stage in the South, and the dramatist is also a king of South India. It is full of comic situations on account of the contrasts between the pretensions and the practices of those who have renounced the world and joined the Monastic Orders. The author is well versed in religions, especially the Buddhistic religion, which must have been very popular in South India at that time.

The drama begins with the appearance of a member of the Monastic Order belonging to the sect of Śiva (the Great God of the Hindus) who carry a skull as an emblem of the order and his lady love, both drunk to the extreme and unable to keep their legs. The words of the monk are typical of the chief characters introduced in the dramas of that order; "Alcohol is to be drunk and the face of a dear damsel is to be gazed at; a dress is to be adopted that is very charming by nature, free from ridiculousness. May the Great God Śiva, the bearer of the bow called *Pināka* live long, by whom has been shown the Path to Beatitude of this nature." He declares that they speak of the effect as of the same nature as the cause and it is a contradiction to assert that enjoyment is the cause of suffering.

The scene of the drama is laid in the ancient and famous city of Kāñcī in the South. The tavern is compared to a place where religious rituals are performed. Alcohol has a divine origin. At this time it was noticed that the monk had lost his skull, the emblem of asking for charity which is the only way he has for earning his living and means for such revels. There is a suspicion that a Buddhist

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monk has stolen it; he appears and complains that though he has his supply of alcohol, the rules of his order prevent him from enjoying a drink. Then he concludes that the real teachings of Buddha make no such restrictions, and he was eager to find out the true texts containing the teachings of Buddha for the good of the whole community. Another monk of the Śaiva sect, a follower of the Pāśūpata order, more sober than the monks of the skull-bearing order, comes on the scene and he is approached by both for arbitration in their quarrel about the begging bowl. He suggests that they go to a court of law. But a lunatic appears with the lost skull in his hand, which he got from a stray dog.

This is a masterpiece. The poetry is excellent. Most of the drama is in the Prākrit language, since Sanskrit is spoken in the drama only by a few of the characters drawn from the higher strata of society. There is a variety of metres introduced. The style is elegant and the language is very chaste. There is plenty of humour. Though the subject matter is capable of falling into what may be repulsive, the limits of decency are never overstepped. There is never any vulgarity either in language or in events. This is a high-class farce. A large number of such farces have been written in later times and all of them have the same motif, making fun of the people who have entered the Monastic Order of various denominations, bringing into prominence the contrast between the precepts and the practices of such people. In spite of the theme taken from low life with drinking and the company of women from the streets, there is a classical seriousness maintained in the drama, and this drama has not been surpassed by any later work of this type, though there have been hundreds of them written. The type is called *Prahasana* since the term means "what produces intense laughter".

ii. *Bhāṇa*

Bhāṇa is another minor type in which a large number of dramas have been written in post-Bharata days. The term means "Speech". It is a drama with a single character. Usually it is a description of city life. An actor representing a citizen appears and he starts describing the various aspects of city life; he usually starts from his home to reach the house of his beloved and he describes the various objects and various persons he meets—young men going about to the residences of their beloveds, the gardens, the drinking halls, the theatres and music and dances, the mansions and the luxuries and decorations in them. Various amusements like cock-fights and ram-fights and competitions between two persons are also introduced in such description. The descriptions include the various stages of

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the day and the revels of nights in the city. There is something like a dialogue between the character that makes his appearance on the stage and some one behind the scene. The first asks questions and then he announces the reply as received from the one behind the scene. The voice heard is only that of the one on the stage and the words of the other are only reported by him as heard by him.

This type also gives the dramatist plenty of scope for showing his powers of describing various aspects of city life and his knowledge of men and matters. While in the *Prahasana* there is a caricature provoking laughter, the theme in a *Bhāṇa* is more serious with occasional touches of humorous situations. From this specimen of drama we know much about the conditions of life in those days, how people enjoyed life in plenty and in luxury in the cities. There was no worship of religiosity and virtuosity among the people; people lived their normal life and did not worry themselves about Heaven as a goal or Hell as a horrible destiny. To the people life on the earth was the chief thing. There were limitations put for the life of the people, and such limitations were respected and observed. But the limit never strangled the people; it was not a noose round their necks. It was only a fencing around a spacious area. Within the area they were free and they enjoyed the freedom. Certainly there is an attack on those who misguided the people into paths towards goals that were not worthy of attainment at all, if they are attainable, and in most cases the goals kept are unattainable. The *Prahasanas* and the *Bhāṇas* represent two aspects of the fight against religiosity and virtuosity that were being preached by some people. The poets really led the nation, and in these two types of dramas, we have the precepts of the poets.

There are various other types of dramas, and also sub-divisions of the major classes. Thus the two dramas of King Harṣa dealing with the story of Udayana are called *Nāṭikā*, i.e., "little *Nāṭaka* or drama," since they have only four Acts, while five Acts form the minimum for a real drama. There are dramas completely written in Prākrit, and a small drama of four Acts in Prākrit is called a *Saṭṭaka*.

In the two major varieties of the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakaraṇa*, which are differentiated from each other only on account of the source of the theme, the main emotional effect produced is (1) that of *Śṛṅgāra* or beauty *par excellence*, which can best be created by the presence of a couple in mutual love, each working for winning the love of the other and bringing about the culmination of their love, or (2) that of intense activity of the hero, what is termed *Vīra*. These two are the main types of beauty in a drama which depicts man in

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action in a certain situation. Either the beauty created by depicting the situation in which the men act dominates or the beauty in the action of men in a certain situation dominates; in these two cases, we call the beauty by the two terms *Śṛṅgāra* and *Vīra*. This must have been the view of Bharata and the original view about beauty in drama; but a change occurred in the theory of beauty. The terms were applied to the emotional reaction on the audience and not the beauty that reacts on the audience.

In the eight minor types of dramas the prevailing emotional effect may be humour, terror, repulsion and so on. There is much of fight and elopement and other events dominating the story. They appeal more to the common man in the street than to the elite. They must have been very popular at an early stage. Perhaps they continued to be popular and many works of the types were written and staged continuously. But they were not preserved like the two main varieties. At a later stage, a large number of works of the two types described above were also preserved. In the type called *Prahasana* or farce, the *Matta-vilāsa*, the work of Mahendra-vikramavarman, the royal poet, was preserved, being a master work. There is no such model for the *Bhāṇa* type coming from that early stage. As for the remaining six varieties, the specimens are few and sometimes there are no specimens at all except what a certain poet composed, to complete the list perhaps, the poet being Vatsarāja who has written dramas illustrating the types and following the rules and examples found in Bharata's work on dramaturgy.

(i) REVIEW

The dramatic art, like the art of the Grand Epics (*Māhā-kāvyas*) had an unbroken current of flow and development in the literary region in Sanskrit. Many dramas were written by a large number of poets in the various parts of India and at various times. They took the theme mainly from the two ancient epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, or from story books and sometimes from their own imagination. At times they imitated an earlier theme. Whatever the source, there is always originality in handling the theme. There was no surrender to the rules of dramaturgy nor to any ancient theme. The theme was only the bare material, and the rules of dramaturgy only marked the rough boundaries of a vast region, leaving immense scope for free movement and free play for the poet's imagination. There are many dramas dealing with the story of Śrī Rāma; they have all been accepted as classics in Sanskrit according to tradition, and not one of them has been criticised for dealing with such an ancient theme which had been

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handled by many earlier poets both for grand epics and for dramas. Except the names and some of the events, no drama follows the original very closely. The events are re-arranged and there is always free selection in the matter of presenting the story. New characters are created and presented and traditional characters change their mutual relationships and also their functions.

The purpose of the poets was to show that ancient heroes and ancient themes can be adjusted to the changed tastes and conditions of the later times and that as such there is a continuity in their cultural progress. It is not necessary to discard old things and create new things for originality; old things give ample scope for displaying the originality of the poets. As a matter of fact, there is greater scope for originality in handling an ancient material than in inventing a new material. In invention, the originality is already there in the theme and there is no originality created by the poet in handling the material; in handling an old material, there is originality in handling. A poet's genius is exhibited in the handling of the theme and not in the theme handled.

Further the poets wanted to show to the people that the ideals of life presented by them through their art were ancient ideals and that this can be accomplished only if ancient heroes are presented on the stage following such ideals. They wanted also to show to the people that such ancient ideals are better for a happy life than the newly taught ideals that were getting popular among the people. On account of the popularity of the new ideals, there was a decadence in the national life, and foreigners were invading and conquering the country. People were being led away from the realities of life. The poets felt intensely sorry for this plight into which the once great nation was falling. They had the memories of the glories of their ancient land and they regretted that people were forgetting the past and attaching themselves to new ways and new precepts. The dramas were a call to the nation.

There has been a view in recent times that the dramatists wrote their works only to please the kings and to receive rich rewards in return, by glorifying the kings of old and by thus flattering the contemporary kings. It shall not be left unnoticed that many of the poets were themselves kings; it cannot be said that kings wrote poetry to please kings. It must be for glorifying themselves and their kingly order. But which king has tried to glorify kings in his dramas? Śūdraka was a king who wrote the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and so was Harṣa who wrote three famous dramas. Viśākhadatta who wrote the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* had royal blood in his veins and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Veṇī-saṁhāra* and Bhavabhūti, the author of three

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dramas were closely associated with kings. But not one of them attempted to glorify a king. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and in the *Mālatī-mādhava* (of Bhavabhūti) the king is presented in a very uncomplimentary way, interfering with the private life of the people and using their authority for selfish ends. This is not glorifying kings. In the *Nāgānanda* of king Harṣa, there is no earthly king, and the kings of the demigods are presented only as ordinary persons leading a full life. So is the case with Udayana who is the hero of the other two dramas of King Harṣa. There is no king sitting on the throne with his military generals and ministers, with great pomp and with autocratic powers. They are all introduced as ordinary men with their domestic life, surrounded by the common people employed in the royal household. They are presented with all the frailties of the common man. If they are kings they are so only as men well known in their times, so that the audience will have no difficulty in following the story of the drama. As a matter of fact, the motive of all the poets, whether they are kings or associates of kings or ordinary citizens, was only to present the men and their lives through their dramas.

The religious bias is another factor that has been introduced into the critical examination of Sanskrit dramas, in recent times. But there is no religion in the dramas except what formed a factor in the common life of the people. Thus there are temples that form the scenes for some contexts in the dramas. Gods also come into the picture. But there is no scene in which there is an elaboration of religious worship or invocation of divine help as the only method of escaping from a calamity. There are prayers; but prayers are not resorted to in a state of despondency. There are prayers to secure strength for further action, sometimes to augment the force of human activities. But nowhere has human activity been given up to be replaced by Divine Grace or surrendered to a Divine Will, so far as I know, in the dramas in Sanskrit. Religion has a part in the Sanskrit dramas only as a factor in the life of the people which was depicted in the dramas.

There is no desire on the part of any character appearing in the drama to escape from this world; no one preaches renunciation and glorifies ultimate release from the sins and sufferings in this life, in a single drama. We see only human activities and triumph of such activities over obstacles. Persons who have joined the Monastic Order are introduced only to help the fulfilment of life in this world. So are the characters of that type found in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka and in the *Mālatī-mādhava* of Bhavabhūti. No one preaches renunciation, no one aspires for renunciation and termi-

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nation of sufferings. Sufferings are got over only through human activity, and even the members of the Monastic Order only exalt activity and a full life, in the dramas where they make their appearance.

There is no drama in which the predominant emotional effect is one of calmness and serenity brought about through religious practices. In all the major dramas, there are only two types of emotional effects, what are called *Śṛṅgāra* and *Vīra,* usually termed as love and heroism. Love is the best factor that helps the production of a situation of ideal beauty, and *Śṛṅgāra* is described by Bharata as "Resplendence" (*ujjvala-veṣātmak*). It changed its meaning into "Love" itself, at a later stage. Ideal beauty of a situation produced by the presence of love between a couple and activity in heroism formed the major factors in dramas in Sanskrit. Renunciation, calmness and serenity produced through religious practices and intense devotion to religion, abstention from activities and life—these are never introduced into the dramas. It is only at a very late stage that in the course of literary criticism a factor called "calmness and serenity" (*śānta*) was given a place in dramas along with love and heroism; even then no poet adopted it as a factor in his dramas even after its acceptance in literary criticism.

Literary critics speak of eight factors as major emotional effects of the presentation of a drama; of them Love and Heroism are given the exalted position, and they are the dominant factors in the two important varieties of dramas, the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakaraṇa.* Other factors appear as the dominant effects in the minor varieties and as subordinate effects in the major types. Serenity as a factor remained in the imagination of latter-day critics, without an example. But some dramas were written with a philosophical theme, in which certainly there is an advocacy of renunciation. The most important drama of this type is the *Prabodha-candrodaya* (the Rise of the Moon of Complete Awakening). Its author, Kṛṣṇamiśra, belonged to the early eleventh century, and the drama was written and produced in the presence of a king named Gopāla, whose date can be fixed at the beginning of the eleventh century.

The drama glorifies the doctrine of Advaita Vedānta (Monistic Vedānta) with a bias for the worship of Viṣṇu, the Great God. The Self is produced by the union of the Absolute with Illusion; the Self has two sons, namely, Discrimination and Mental Confusion. The latter has many children and grand-children, and this line of the family grew in strength. There was a prophecy that at some future time, there would arise Complete Awakening (*Prabodha*), and that was the danger to this powerful family line. In this way the plot

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the palace without any dangers of war rather than welcoming honour through heroism.

This is not the theme where we can have Nature. But there is plenty of supernaturalism with demons and goblins coming in along with heroes and warriors. It is a drama of war, preparation for war and consequences of war. We see warriors, battle-field, jealousy and rivalry among warriors trying to get higher positions in the army, dead bodies strewn on the ground and blood flowing on the surface of the battle-field. War is fought with valour, and there is no scrupulousness in resorting to any means that will bring victory. Falsehood and foul play have their share in the execution of the war. There is no sentimental virtuosity standing in the way of final victory when two parties are engaged in a deadly war. Victory is the only motive and the characters are drawn up to bring this ideal to the forefront.

The language is lucid, but there are very long compounds even in the prose portion during the dialogues. The style is fitted to bring out the emotional effects very clearly. We breathe an air of heroism in the whole drama. The dramatist is a master in the art of keeping the audience in a state of arrested attention, in a state of excitement, with their nerves highly strung, with little of relief; there are varieties in the scenes, but without any comic touch to bring about any mental relief to the audience. Perhaps, after the fury of Bhīma and of Draupadī in the beginning of the drama, the presence of Suyodhana with his queen is in sharp contrast with the presence of Bhīma and Draupadī. But that is not the occasion for any sort of ease for the mind, since even at that stage the real excitement has not started. Perhaps some sort of change after the quarrel of the two heroes might have been welcome. This scene has a close resemblance to the quarrel scene of Brutus and Cassius in the *Julius Caesar* of Shakespeare. Here is again a similarity in the working of the minds of great artists without any possibility of one influencing the other. In the scene where Suyodhana and his queen appear and where there is the report of a dream, we see again some resemblance to the scene in *Julius Caesar*. In this and in the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta, we see war and post-war strategy; here we see war itself.

We know practically nothing of the date and personality of the dramatist. We know him as Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. Various places have been suggested as his native country. Some kings have been associated with him. But everything is a conjecture. It must be one of the early dramas in Sanskrit. It is not unlikely that the

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drama belongs to the same period when the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* was also written, a time when foreigners like the Scythians and the Huns were invading the country and when the people had a very anxious time and when poets were trying through their art to revive in the nation the martial heroism that was getting dormant owing to the prevalence of the latter-day philosophy of self-sacrifice and forbearance. It is the same spirit that we found in the *Nāgānanda* of king Harṣa, though in that drama there is no attempt at evoking the martial spirit of the people, but only the sense of realism in matters of life. In the time of Harṣa, there was little scope for martial heroism against foreign invaders, since they were all supressed by that time. From the spirit of the drama, some time in the fifth century A.D. would be the probable time of the drama. But scholars accept only a slightly later date, in the seventh or eighth century, for the drama. This drama and Bhāravi's Grand Epic, the *Kirātārjunīya*, form a pair, evoking the martial spirit of the nation which is one of the most prominent traits in the national genius of India. They are also contemporaneous with each other in all probability.

(g) BHAVABHŪTI

According to Indian tradition, Bhavabhūti stands next to Kālidāsa in the matter of eminence as a poet. They cannot be contemporaries, being separated from each other by at least four hundred years, even if we accept the very late date for Kālidāsa that is suggested, i.e., as a contemporary of the great Gupta emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries; yet there are many stories current in India in which Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti are brought together; they are contrasted with each other as the Kālidāsa with his natural talent and the Bhavabhūti with his erudition. It is also found in tradition that, according to Kālidāsa's judgement, Bhavabhūti's drama known as the *Uttara-rāma-carita* is the best production of that age.

There is little difficulty to ascertain the date of Bhavabhūti, as he is mentioned by the historian poet Kalhaṇa in his historical poem, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (the Ocean of Kings); he was a contemporary of King Yaśovarman of *Kanyākubja* (Kanauj) who was defeated by King Lalitāditya of Kāshmir; and so the date must be about 700 A.D. He himself gives much information about his own personal affairs, in the prologue to his plays and we know from this statement that he was born at a place called Padmapura, which has been identified with different places in modern times. His real name was Śrīkaṇṭha, and there is a tradition that he acquired the name Bhavabhūti, because the word appears in a verse attributed to him, which is a very

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handling the original plot. Many of the characters must also have been his original creations; so must many of the events too have been. The characters have life and there is a real movement in the story presented on the stage, instead of the narration of the story in dialogue form. It is a great drama and also good poetry. There is plenty of the exhibition of emotional outbursts. Perhaps this latter factor has been a little overdone, on account of the various occasions when characters faint on the stage, a factor which is practically not found in the dramas of earlier dramatists.

The story relates to two ministers who were class-mates; at the end of their study they came to an understanding that if one of them had a son and the other a daughter, they would effect a marriage between the children, and it so turned out that they had a son and a daughter respectively, named Mādhava (the son) and Mālatī (the daughter). As the story of this pair, the drama was given that name. Now it happened that the father of the heroine was minister to a king whose brother-in-law (queen's brother) wanted to get that daughter as his wife. The king took up his cause too, placing the minister in a rather inconvenient position.

The two ministers had as class-mates two ladies also who later joined the Monastic Order; they were witnesses to the mutual agreement of the two ministers about the marriage of their children and they continued their friendship with the ministers and decided to work for the frustration of the king's attempts and for helping the ministers in getting their children joined together in wedlock. They did not want the minister to incur the displeasure of the king and took up the whole affair on themselves. They arranged that a friend of the hero named Makaranda dress himself up as a girl and go to the marriage of the brother-in-law of the king as the heroine and that the marriage of the hero and the heroine be conducted in a temple, unknown to the king. This stratagem forms the central core of the plot of the drama. There are many intricate situations and there are various exciting scenes and many surprises. There are also various adventures. The hero tries to propitiate the evil spirits of the burial ground by offering fresh flesh, to add to the efficacy of the help he is to receive from the nuns, and then he hears a wailing and finds that a priest in the temple was about to sacrifice the heroine as an offering to the deity. He saves her by killing the priest. Makaranda had an occasion to save from the clutches of a tiger, the life of the heroine's companion, who happened to be the sister of the king's brother-in-law, and they fell in love with each other. There are horrible scenes like the one in the burial ground. The plight of the minister, the nobility of the nuns, the

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courage of the hero and his companion, the despondency of the hero and the heroine, their passionate love, the deep pathos, the exciting situations, the dangerous adventures, the intrigue in the court, descriptions of the grand aspect of Nature—all make the drama one of the best in Sanskrit; it is no wonder that Bhavabhūti acquired in Indian tradition a place by the side of Kālidāsa, though a second place. In originality in handling the plot, in character delineation, in grand style, in chaste and polished expression, in the majesty of the language—Bhavabhūti has few equals.

iii. *Uttara-rāma-carita*

Just as Kālidāsa's fame depends mainly on his *Śākuntala,* the fame of Bhavabhūti, in spite of his *Mālatī-mādhava,* rests mainly on his *Uttara-rāma-carita.* This, as the name suggests, is the Later (*Uttara*) Rāma Story (*Rāma-carita*). It is a sequel, in point of theme, to the story of his other drama, the *Mahāvīra-carita.* It is decidedly a later work in the life of Bhavabhūti. The main theme is taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki; but Bhavabhūti, as in the case of his other dramas, is very original and independent in handling the story. He introduces new characters, he introduces new events and he alters the events also when it suits his art.

The story starts with the coronation of Śrī Rāma after his return from exile. There was a gossip spreading in the kingdom that during the captivity of the heroine in the custody of Rāvaṇa, her character might have been polluted and that still Śrī Rāma had accepted her as queen. Śrī Rāma did not want such an evil name for him and he was prepared to sacrifice his queen for the sake of peace and contentment in the kingdom. There was a series of paintings prepared of the scenes in the forest where they had spent such a long time, and the first Act shows Śrī Rāma describing the pictures to the queen Sītā; Sītā expressed a desire to re-visit the places and this gave Śrī Rāma an opportunity to send her to the forest and abandon her there. She was pregnant and she became the mother of two sons, whom the sage Vālmīki took charge of and educated properly. Śrī Rāma himself came to the forest at a later stage on some mission and had a meeting with Sītā who was concealed from his sight through some divine powers. There is much of fainting in this interview unknown to each other and unseen by each other. Śrī Rāma was performing the *Aśvamedha* (horse sacrifice) and at that time, Vālmīki had composed the life history of Śrī Rāma in a grand poem, which was taught to the two sons of Śrī Rāma; they recited the poem in the presence of Śrī Rāma. Then a drama was enacted in the presence of Śrī Rāma, in which the story of Sītā after

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her abandonment was depicted, and Sītā herself was brought to the scene on the stage.

There are various episodes introduced, partially taken from the original, partially modified from the original and partially invented by the dramatist himself. The sons of Śrī Rāma's brothers and the two sons of Śrī Rāma in the forest come into conflict, and Śrī Rāma also appears there. The parents of Sītā are also introduced and Rāma's mother also is brought on the scene. The entire plot is original, though some of the material is taken from the ancient epic.

It is a drama of tragic situations. Rāma's internal conflict forms the main point of interest in the drama. After their marriage at a very early age, they had been spending a happy life, equally happy both in the palace and in the forest; though polygamy was allowed at that time, he never had a second wife. Now that dear companion of all his happiness and suffering was separated from him on account of his sense of duty to the people, and he had to treat with regard the opinions of the people about him and his rule. When there was a regular public talk, spread even in the villages that the king had accepted a queen who had lost her purity during her captivity in the residence of a demon, how could he continue to allow her as his queen? We see this internal conflict throughout the drama. There is this conflict between his private life and his public life and he had to bestow greater regard to his public life; he was a king and the welfare of the people and the good opinion of the people were essential for the discharge of his duties as a king. He had sacrificed his private life and his love for his dear wife. He could do it only as a king, and as a man his love for the queen continued.

This note of deep pathos continues throughout the drama till in the end everything is resolved. In this drama we see Bhavabhūti at his best both in character delineation and handling the plot and also in the description of Nature. There is a happy combination of Nature and the supernatural; both are in equal proportions in the drama. We see forest nymphs and the presiding deities of rivers, and these characters play an active part in the development of the plot in the drama. We see the emotions of man and also the grandeur of Nature. In handling Nature we see the grand aspect in Bhavabhūti while we have the simple beauty of Nature in the works of Kālidāsa. When Bhavabhūti describes the forest scenery, his descriptions are grander than when Kālidāsa describes the Himalayas.

The language has mellowed down when we come to the *Uttara-rāma-carita* in comparison with his other dramas; the style has be-

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come simpler in this drama in comparison with his earlier dramas. It has been accepted by all that this must be a much later work in the life of Bhavabhūti in relation to the other two dramas, while these latter may not have been separated from each other by any appreciable span of time, and it is even difficult to say which of the two is earlier. That the *Mahāvīra-carita* is earlier than the *Mālatī-mādhava* is a theory that has been postulated by some, but not accepted by all as proved.

iv. *Comments*

Bhavabhūti has dramatised the whole of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and he has also written a drama dealing with a story of topical interest taken from the current collections of tales. There is a large variety in his characters and he has created his own characters even when he has taken the theme from the well-known ancient epics. In the other drama practically the whole theme is his own creation while he has taken just a bare outline from earlier sources. He is a master in character delineation, especially in describing the strong emotions of man. Bhavabhūti introduces young boys on the stage as great heroes in his *Uttara-rāma-carita,* and they are lively and they play a prominent part in the plot, a feature seldom seen in Sanskrit dramas. Even Bharata in Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* does not come up to this standard. Bhavabhūti is also a master in the description of Nature, and it is the grand aspects of Nature that he loves most. In the various dramas sketched above there are few in which there is anything that can be called Nature. It is only in Kālidāsa that there is a dominance of Nature, and this is true also of the epic poems. What Nature there is in the later epics are descriptions of Nature that the poets knew in their erudition and not what they felt in their heart. After Kālidāsa we come here to another poet who has known Nature in his heart and who has realised and enjoyed the beauties of Nature, and who has been able to express such beauties of Nature in poetic language. He loved Nature as did Kālidāsa and he wrote poetry because he felt and realised the beauties of Nature; he was in communion with Nature.

In handling the theme, Bhavabhūti made the plot rather complicated like many of the dramatists noted above. His *Uttara-rāma-carita* is the easiest among his three dramas in point of simplicity in plot construction and even here we do not see that simplicity which we see in the *Śākuntala.* Bhavabhūti introduces many characters and crowds the stage, and there are too many events introduced in constructing the plot. One is not able to keep steady in his mind all such characters and events and the role of the characters

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in such events. The sequence of events too becomes a little blurred, though the events follow events in a very natural way. In spite of the unity in the whole plot, the individual characters and their activities and the individual events become more prominent, and the unity is sometimes missed on account of such great attention demanded by the mass of events and the crowd of characters. Bhavabhūti gives plenty of scope for the various actors that take the different characters but the total effect is not so strong as in the case of the dramas of Kālidāsa or the *Nāgānanda* of King Harṣa. It is the combination of Nature and the heart of man that has given Bhavabhūti the place that he occupies among Sanskrit poets according to tradition in India; this feature is very prominent in Kālidāsa who for this reason occupies the first rank without a rival and without even an equal. Bhavabhūti is certainly the second in rank next to Kālidāsa as a great poet and as a great dramatist. Only three dramas have come down to us from the pen of Bhavabhūti. Stray verses are cited in anthologies from Bhavabhūti that are not traceable to his dramas and it is very likely that he has written many more works.

(h) MINOR TYPES

Even from very early times, as recorded by Bharata who was the first to give us a treatise on dramaturgy, so far as the available literature goes, there must have been a variety in dramatic patterns current in India. He speaks of ten varieties of dramas that were known to him. We may divide them into two classes, a major class and a minor class. The major class consists of two patterns, named the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakaraṇa*. The only difference is that in a *Nāṭaka*, the story is taken from ancient epics about kings and divine persons while in the *Prakaraṇa* the theme is taken from current story books, describing the ordinary citizens. These two types represent what may be styled the Classical or High-class dramas in Sanskrit.

There are eight other varieties of dramas mentioned by Bharata. For many of them there are no specimens available. A dramatist at the close of the twelfth century named Vatsarāja has written dramas illustrating all the types, according to the descriptions given by Bharata. But most of the types have become unpopular among poets in later times. Only two varieties have a large number of specimens among the eight, and they are called the *Bhāṇa* and the *Prahasana*. It is the Major type, the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakaraṇa*, that was really popular in later times. May be that many were written; but they are not preserved. Yet Bharata must have known a large number of works representing these various types; otherwise

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he would not have classified them and described them in his work on dramaturgy.

Of the dramas noted above, it would be found that in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of King Śūdraka and in the *Mālatī-mādhava* of Bhavabhūti, the heroes come from among the common people, a merchant and the son of a minister, and the story is not found in the ancient epics. They come under the type of *Prakaraṇas;* the remaining dramas are all called *Nāṭakas,* since their heroes are kings noticed in the ancient epics or in ancient chronicles, like King Agnimitra and King Udayana.

i. *Prahasana*

The earliest known work of this type in the post-Bharata age is the *Matta-vilāsa* (the exhilaration of a drunkard). It is a parody on the members of Monastic Orders who did not deserve to renounce the world and join the Order, with their love affairs and their drinking habits and their quarrels about petty possessions. The drama was written by a king who lived in the seventh century. It has been very popular on the stage in the South, and the dramatist is also a king of South India. It is full of comic situations on account of the contrasts between the pretensions and the practices of those who have renounced the world and joined the Monastic Orders. The author is well versed in religions, especially the Buddhistic religion, which must have been very popular in South India at that time.

The drama begins with the appearance of a member of the Monastic Order belonging to the sect of Śiva (the Great God of the Hindus) who carry a skull as an emblem of the order and his lady love, both drunk to the extreme and unable to keep their legs. The words of the monk are typical of the chief characters introduced in the dramas of that order; "Alcohol is to be drunk and the face of a dear damsel is to be gazed at; a dress is to be adopted that is very charming by nature, free from ridiculousness. May the Great God Śiva, the bearer of the bow called *Pināka* live long, by whom has been shown the Path to Beatitude of this nature." He declares that they speak of the effect as of the same nature as the cause and it is a contradiction to assert that enjoyment is the cause of suffering.

The scene of the drama is laid in the ancient and famous city of Kāñcī in the South. The tavern is compared to a place where religious rituals are performed. Alcohol has a divine origin. At this time it was noticed that the monk had lost his skull, the emblem of asking for charity which is the only way he has for earning his living and means for such revels. There is a suspicion that a Buddhist

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monk has stolen it; he appears and complains that though he has his supply of alcohol, the rules of his order prevent him from enjoying a drink. Then he concludes that the real teachings of Buddha make no such restrictions, and he was eager to find out the true texts containing the teachings of Buddha for the good of the whole community. Another monk of the Śaiva sect, a follower of the Pāśūpata order, more sober than the monks of the skull-bearing order, comes on the scene and he is approached by both for arbitration in their quarrel about the begging bowl. He suggests that they go to a court of law. But a lunatic appears with the lost skull in his hand, which he got from a stray dog.

This is a masterpiece. The poetry is excellent. Most of the drama is in the Prākrit language, since Sanskrit is spoken in the drama only by a few of the characters drawn from the higher strata of society. There is a variety of metres introduced. The style is elegant and the language is very chaste. There is plenty of humour. Though the subject matter is capable of falling into what may be repulsive, the limits of decency are never overstepped. There is never any vulgarity either in language or in events. This is a high-class farce. A large number of such farces have been written in later times and all of them have the same motif, making fun of the people who have entered the Monastic Order of various denominations, bringing into prominence the contrast between the precepts and the practices of such people. In spite of the theme taken from low life with drinking and the company of women from the streets, there is a classical seriousness maintained in the drama, and this drama has not been surpassed by any later work of this type, though there have been hundreds of them written. The type is called *Prahasana* since the term means "what produces intense laughter".

ii. *Bhāṇa*

Bhāṇa is another minor type in which a large number of dramas have been written in post-Bharata days. The term means "Speech". It is a drama with a single character. Usually it is a description of city life. An actor representing a citizen appears and he starts describing the various aspects of city life; he usually starts from his home to reach the house of his beloved and he describes the various objects and various persons he meets—young men going about to the residences of their beloveds, the gardens, the drinking halls, the theatres and music and dances, the mansions and the luxuries and decorations in them. Various amusements like cock-fights and ram-fights and competitions between two persons are also introduced in such description. The descriptions include the various stages of

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the day and the revels of nights in the city. There is something like a dialogue between the character that makes his appearance on the stage and some one behind the scene. The first asks questions and then he announces the reply as received from the one behind the scene. The voice heard is only that of the one on the stage and the words of the other are only reported by him as heard by him.

This type also gives the dramatist plenty of scope for showing his powers of describing various aspects of city life and his knowledge of men and matters. While in the *Prahasana* there is a caricature provoking laughter, the theme in a *Bhāṇa* is more serious with occasional touches of humorous situations. From this specimen of drama we know much about the conditions of life in those days, how people enjoyed life in plenty and in luxury in the cities. There was no worship of religiosity and virtuosity among the people; people lived their normal life and did not worry themselves about Heaven as a goal or Hell as a horrible destiny. To the people life on the earth was the chief thing. There were limitations put for the life of the people, and such limitations were respected and observed. But the limit never strangled the people; it was not a noose round their necks. It was only a fencing around a spacious area. Within the area they were free and they enjoyed the freedom. Certainly there is an attack on those who misguided the people into paths towards goals that were not worthy of attainment at all, if they are attainable, and in most cases the goals kept are unattainable. The *Prahasanas* and the *Bhāṇas* represent two aspects of the fight against religiosity and virtuosity that were being preached by some people. The poets really led the nation, and in these two types of dramas, we have the precepts of the poets.

There are various other types of dramas, and also sub-divisions of the major classes. Thus the two dramas of King Harṣa dealing with the story of Udayana are called *Nāṭikā*, i.e., "little *Nāṭaka* or drama," since they have only four Acts, while five Acts form the minimum for a real drama. There are dramas completely written in Prākrit, and a small drama of four Acts in Prākrit is called a *Saṭṭaka*.

In the two major varieties of the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakaraṇa*, which are differentiated from each other only on account of the source of the theme, the main emotional effect produced is (1) that of *Śṛṅgāra* or beauty *par excellence*, which can best be created by the presence of a couple in mutual love, each working for winning the love of the other and bringing about the culmination of their love, or (2) that of intense activity of the hero, what is termed *Vīra*. These two are the main types of beauty in a drama which depicts man in

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action in a certain situation. Either the beauty created by depicting the situation in which the men act dominates or the beauty in the action of men in a certain situation dominates; in these two cases, we call the beauty by the two terms *Śṛṅgāra* and *Vīra*. This must have been the view of Bharata and the original view about beauty in drama; but a change occurred in the theory of beauty. The terms were applied to the emotional reaction on the audience and not the beauty that reacts on the audience.

In the eight minor types of dramas the prevailing emotional effect may be humour, terror, repulsion and so on. There is much of fight and elopement and other events dominating the story. They appeal more to the common man in the street than to the elite. They must have been very popular at an early stage. Perhaps they continued to be popular and many works of the types were written and staged continuously. But they were not preserved like the two main varieties. At a later stage, a large number of works of the two types described above were also preserved. In the type called *Prahasana* or farce, the *Matta-vilāsa*, the work of Mahendra-vikramavarman, the royal poet, was preserved, being a master work. There is no such model for the *Bhāṇa* type coming from that early stage. As for the remaining six varieties, the specimens are few and sometimes there are no specimens at all except what a certain poet composed, to complete the list perhaps, the poet being Vatsarāja who has written dramas illustrating the types and following the rules and examples found in Bharata's work on dramaturgy.

(i) REVIEW

The dramatic art, like the art of the Grand Epics (*Māhā-kāvyas*) had an unbroken current of flow and development in the literary region in Sanskrit. Many dramas were written by a large number of poets in the various parts of India and at various times. They took the theme mainly from the two ancient epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, or from story books and sometimes from their own imagination. At times they imitated an earlier theme. Whatever the source, there is always originality in handling the theme. There was no surrender to the rules of dramaturgy nor to any ancient theme. The theme was only the bare material, and the rules of dramaturgy only marked the rough boundaries of a vast region, leaving immense scope for free movement and free play for the poet's imagination. There are many dramas dealing with the story of Śrī Rāma; they have all been accepted as classics in Sanskrit according to tradition, and not one of them has been criticised for dealing with such an ancient theme which had been

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handled by many earlier poets both for grand epics and for dramas. Except the names and some of the events, no drama follows the original very closely. The events are re-arranged and there is always free selection in the matter of presenting the story. New characters are created and presented and traditional characters change their mutual relationships and also their functions.

The purpose of the poets was to show that ancient heroes and ancient themes can be adjusted to the changed tastes and conditions of the later times and that as such there is a continuity in their cultural progress. It is not necessary to discard old things and create new things for originality; old things give ample scope for displaying the originality of the poets. As a matter of fact, there is greater scope for originality in handling an ancient material than in inventing a new material. In invention, the originality is already there in the theme and there is no originality created by the poet in handling the material; in handling an old material, there is originality in handling. A poet's genius is exhibited in the handling of the theme and not in the theme handled.

Further the poets wanted to show to the people that the ideals of life presented by them through their art were ancient ideals and that this can be accomplished only if ancient heroes are presented on the stage following such ideals. They wanted also to show to the people that such ancient ideals are better for a happy life than the newly taught ideals that were getting popular among the people. On account of the popularity of the new ideals, there was a decadence in the national life, and foreigners were invading and conquering the country. People were being led away from the realities of life. The poets felt intensely sorry for this plight into which the once great nation was falling. They had the memories of the glories of their ancient land and they regretted that people were forgetting the past and attaching themselves to new ways and new precepts. The dramas were a call to the nation.

There has been a view in recent times that the dramatists wrote their works only to please the kings and to receive rich rewards in return, by glorifying the kings of old and by thus flattering the contemporary kings. It shall not be left unnoticed that many of the poets were themselves kings; it cannot be said that kings wrote poetry to please kings. It must be for glorifying themselves and their kingly order. But which king has tried to glorify kings in his dramas? Śūdraka was a king who wrote the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and so was Harṣa who wrote three famous dramas. Viśākhadatta who wrote the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* had royal blood in his veins and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Veṇī-saṁhāra* and Bhavabhūti, the author of three

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dramas were closely associated with kings. But not one of them attempted to glorify a king. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and in the *Mālatī-mādhava* (of Bhavabhūti) the king is presented in a very uncomplimentary way, interfering with the private life of the people and using their authority for selfish ends. This is not glorifying kings. In the *Nāgānanda* of king Harṣa, there is no earthly king, and the kings of the demigods are presented only as ordinary persons leading a full life. So is the case with Udayana who is the hero of the other two dramas of King Harṣa. There is no king sitting on the throne with his military generals and ministers, with great pomp and with autocratic powers. They are all introduced as ordinary men with their domestic life, surrounded by the common people employed in the royal household. They are presented with all the frailties of the common man. If they are kings they are so only as men well known in their times, so that the audience will have no difficulty in following the story of the drama. As a matter of fact, the motive of all the poets, whether they are kings or associates of kings or ordinary citizens, was only to present the men and their lives through their dramas.

The religious bias is another factor that has been introduced into the critical examination of Sanskrit dramas, in recent times. But there is no religion in the dramas except what formed a factor in the common life of the people. Thus there are temples that form the scenes for some contexts in the dramas. Gods also come into the picture. But there is no scene in which there is an elaboration of religious worship or invocation of divine help as the only method of escaping from a calamity. There are prayers; but prayers are not resorted to in a state of despondency. There are prayers to secure strength for further action, sometimes to augment the force of human activities. But nowhere has human activity been given up to be replaced by Divine Grace or surrendered to a Divine Will, so far as I know, in the dramas in Sanskrit. Religion has a part in the Sanskrit dramas only as a factor in the life of the people which was depicted in the dramas.

There is no desire on the part of any character appearing in the drama to escape from this world; no one preaches renunciation and glorifies ultimate release from the sins and sufferings in this life, in a single drama. We see only human activities and triumph of such activities over obstacles. Persons who have joined the Monastic Order are introduced only to help the fulfilment of life in this world. So are the characters of that type found in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka and in the *Mālatī-mādhava* of Bhavabhūti. No one preaches renunciation, no one aspires for renunciation and termi-

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nation of sufferings. Sufferings are got over only through human activity, and even the members of the Monastic Order only exalt activity and a full life, in the dramas where they make their appearance.

There is no drama in which the predominant emotional effect is one of calmness and serenity brought about through religious practices. In all the major dramas, there are only two types of emotional effects, what are called *Śṛṅgāra* and *Vīra*, usually termed as love and heroism. Love is the best factor that helps the production of a situation of ideal beauty, and *Śṛṅgāra* is described by Bharata as "Resplendence" (*ujjvala-veṣātmak*). It changed its meaning into "Love" itself, at a later stage. Ideal beauty of a situation produced by the presence of love between a couple and activity in heroism formed the major factors in dramas in Sanskrit. Renunciation, calmness and serenity produced through religious practices and intense devotion to religion, abstention from activities and life—these are never introduced into the dramas. It is only at a very late stage that in the course of literary criticism a factor called "calmness and serenity" (*śānta*) was given a place in dramas along with love and heroism; even then no poet adopted it as a factor in his dramas even after its acceptance in literary criticism.

Literary critics speak of eight factors as major emotional effects of the presentation of a drama; of them Love and Heroism are given the exalted position, and they are the dominant factors in the two important varieties of dramas, the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakaraṇa*. Other factors appear as the dominant effects in the minor varieties and as subordinate effects in the major types. Serenity as a factor remained in the imagination of latter-day critics, without an example. But some dramas were written with a philosophical theme, in which certainly there is an advocacy of renunciation. The most important drama of this type is the *Prabodha-candrodaya* (the Rise of the Moon of Complete Awakening). Its author, Kṛṣṇamiśra, belonged to the early eleventh century, and the drama was written and produced in the presence of a king named Gopāla, whose date can be fixed at the beginning of the eleventh century.

The drama glorifies the doctrine of Advaita Vedānta (Monistic Vedānta) with a bias for the worship of Viṣṇu, the Great God. The Self is produced by the union of the Absolute with Illusion; the Self has two sons, namely, Discrimination and Mental Confusion. The latter has many children and grand-children, and this line of the family grew in strength. There was a prophecy that at some future time, there would arise Complete Awakening (*Prabodha*), and that was the danger to this powerful family line. In this way the plot

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is developed with such philosophical and religious concepts as characters. It is good poetry, it is clever drama. But that is not the type of the generality of dramas in Sanskrit.

There are other types of literary works also in which some people have tried to introduce a religious factor as a major one. Thus Aśvaghoṣa wrote his Grand Epic, the *Saundara-nanda,* to give a religious teaching. This does not mean that people were partial towards religion. What it actually means is that people cannot be approached through pure religion. That is what Aśvaghoṣa expressly states. People regard the religious teachings as a bitter medicine and people can be persuaded to take that bitter medicine only if it is mixed up with sweet things, and poetry is the sweet ingredient which people loved. The same is the case with the drama of Kṛṣṇamiśra, the *Prabodha-candrodaya.*

I am not at all asserting that people had no religion nor that people hated religion. It is only a particular aspect of what became the religions of the country which did not appeal to the people. People had a sense of morality, a discrimination between what is good and what is bad, a love of a life of service to humanity and such factors coming within religion; and they are all chief factors in the religion of the *Vedas.* They also believed in some higher powers, that can be called gods. But people did not believe in the sacredness of renunciation, in the doctrine of the world being momentary and not of importance and its being a place as a source for sins and sufferings and in final release alone being the right goal. Similarly they did not believe in a God who was the creator of the world and of man, and who was also the giver of Law for man. They did not accept him as rewarding and punishing. God is just there and never interferes with the affairs of man. Man must be active and must take up the responsibility for his enjoyments and also for his sufferings. The world is a place where man must be active, and there is no goal for man outside the world. The dramatists also attempted to revive this religion of the *Vedas,* which had been submerged by the flow of new religious beliefs. The *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas,* the Grand Epics and the Dramas reflect the same national genius of India, the genius of realism and practical talent. The nation was a nation of heroes, living a full life in this world. It is this national genius that is found in all the dramas.

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VIII. PROSE

(i) GENERAL

Like the records left behind by the various nations of ancient times, India too has given to us from ancient times a valuable record of prose literature; India's uniqueness lies in its wealth of poetic literature, the like of which has not been produced by any other ancient nation in the world. From the earliest times, the prose literature developed along two lines in India. One is the prose represented by the *Mantras* or short passages addressed to the various articles made use of in the rituals, as contained in the *Yajurveda*. They developed into the *Sūtra* literature of a slightly later date. But that pattern of literature dropped out and its place was taken up entirely by the metrical literature using only short metres, what are called the *Anuṣṭubh* metres, with four lines of eight syllables each; very rarely other metres were also used for this purpose, especially the *Āryā* metre, in which the first and the third lines have twelve *Mātrās* (Moras) divided into three feet of four *Mātrās each*, and the second and the fourth have eighteen or fifteen *Mātrās* in feet of four *Mātrās* each, with some foot defective. Eighteen *Mātrās* in the second and fifteen *Mātrās* in the fourth is the normal, while the eighteen *Mātrās* may be in the fourth too and the fifteen *Mātrās* may be in the second also. With the *Anuṣṭubh* metre may be intermixed other metres as well. All such short metres were adopted for use in treatises of a scientific nature, replacing the short Aphorisms (*Sūtras*).

There is the other pattern of prose in the *Yajurveda*, found also in a part of the *Atharvaveda*, which is more of a run on nature, used for discussions, explanations and narrations. It is this prose pattern that had a continuous growth in the language. It was continued in the *Nirukta* of Yāska, and further developed in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali in grammar. But even this prose pattern took two different channels. One strictly followed the style of this earlier prose, and the other was the prose style adopted in literary art. In the *Mahākāvya* (Grand Epic) pattern of literature, it was found that a sort of artificiality was adopted in the language, using words in "double meanings", and resorting to very long compounds. This artificiality was adopted in prose also, where it becomes easier, since there are no restrictions produced by the needs of metre. This enables the poets to write prose passages of any length they like, and such a freedom enables the poets to construct the long compounds

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with a double method of splitting into parts and with a consequent double meaning. This factor in Sanskrit language is something that cannot be introduced into any other language, and it cannot also be illustrated or explained in any other language. The double meaning of the whole compound may be produced by the two meanings of any of the parts of the compound or by the two ways in which the compound can be split up.

I will try to illustrate the second of them with a simple example. Take a compound like: *muktā-hāra*. It can be split up into *mukta* and *āhāra* or into *muktā-hāra*. The first means "one who has abandoned (*mukta*) food (*āhāra*)" and the second would mean "pearl (*muktā*) necklace (*hāra*)." Thus the poet can have, by use of this compound a sentence like "you accept your beloved who has abandoned food (in despair of meeting you)" or "you accept the pearl necklace which is your beloved". As a matter of fact poets are praised for their abilities in constructing such compound words, and there is a simplicity along with such artificiality in these usages which makes the artificiality so natural in the contexts. It may at first look like some "cross-word puzzle". But the poets have perfected the usage in such a way that those who get accustomed to such usages find no strain at all in detecting the two modes of splitting up the compound to give the two meanings in the context.

The real classical prose works abound in such usages of compound words and such works have become classics on account of the facile way in which such a device is introduced into the work. Without them, perhaps, the works would not have attained the fame as classics. The facile way in which such compounds are introduced by the poets into their prose works has been praised by later poets and also by writers on literary criticism while there are some literary critics who have condemned such a practice, and one literary critic condemns it as unworthy in any really high-class poetry.

It must be understood that the term poetry is used above as a work of literary art, the work of a poet (*Kāvya*), without any reference to the factor of metre in the work. Sanskrit makes no difference betwen works in a metrical form and works without the factor of metres, so far as poetry is concerned. Both are called poetry if they are poetry on account of their artistic beauty in form. It is only such poetry in prose form that is being taken up in this chapter. Prose has found its way into other patterns of literature, and perhaps the best prose style is found in such patterns and not in what are technically known as prose-poetry. Such specimens of high-class prose style are found in story books and also in works on philosophy and other subjects. There is one work that has attained a position

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as non-metrical poetry or prose-poetry which is really a story book and that too will be taken up in this context; that is the *Daśa-kumāra-carita* (the story of the ten princes) by Daṇḍin. Other prose patterns will be taken up in other contexts.

There is a variety of poetry that has developed in Sanskrit in which prose and metrical passages are interspersed and the specimen is known as *Campū*. This may be considered as poetry in metrical form into which prose pieces are also introduced or this may as well be considered as prose works into which metrical passages are also introduced. As a matter of fact, drama is of the former variety. There are no dramas in Sanskrit which are purely in prose form or which are in a purely metrical form. Both are combined in all the dramas in Sanskrit. While in drama, the narrations are generally in prose and the descriptions of situations and of emotional moods are in metrical form, the relation is reversed in the *Campū*, in which the narrations are made mainly in metrical form and the poet adopts prose for descriptions. The number of specimens in both the pure prose type and the *Campū* (combination of prose and metrical pieces) type are few and so both are taken up in a single chapter.

(ii) PROSE (GADYA)

a. *Bāṇa*

The most famous writer of a poem in prose in Sanskrit is Bāṇa, a contemporary of King Harṣa who has written the three dramas; and he has contributed two prose works which have both become classics in Sanskrit. One of them is a prose romance dealing with the history of King Harṣa himself; the other deals with a purely romantic theme in which men and demigods, earth and regions beyond, the natural and the supernatural, are all happily blended together. Love, curses, transformation of gods into demigods and demigods into men and of men into animals and birds in successive births with the love affair continuing through such successive births, surprises and very intricate situations and various similar devices are introduced in the construction of the plot. Like Kālidāsa's poetry and dramas, the *Kādambarī*, the romance of Bāna, has attained a fame in Sanskrit literature unrivalled by any other work of that pattern.

The story of the *Kādambarī* is one of the most complicated found in any literature. The whole story becomes a unit only as narrated by a few characters, and the characters narrate their own tale. The story is so complicated that a later poet has written an epitome of the story of the *Kādambarī* (*Kādambarī-kathāsāra*) for the benefit of the ordinary reader who cannot disentagle the various parts

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of the narration and bring them together into a continuous narrative. This device of story within story, story continuing another story as complement and story introducing another story, is very common in Sanskrit literature. Here the peculiarity is that the same story is put into the mouth of a few characters part by part and all the parts become a single story.

The king of a race of demigods had a daughter named Kādambarī, and she had a companion named Mahāśvetā, the daughter of a celestial nymph. One day the latter met a youth named Puṇḍarīka along with a friend of his near a lake named Acchoda; the young person fell in love with her. Puṇḍarīka was the son of Lakṣmī the goddess of beauty and a sage named Śvetaketu. The boy died of grief since it was too late to inform him of the reciprocation of the love. In a state of grief, he cursed the Moon who gave him so much of pain in his heart, that the latter would be born on the earth and suffer the pangs of love. The Moon on his part cursed him that he too would share the sufferings on the earth. Puṇḍarīka's body was carried away by some heavenly being and there was a voice heard that Mahāśvetā should not end her life on which she was bent, since there would be a re-union.

The Moon was born on the earth as Candrāpīḍa, son of Tārāpīḍa the king of Ujjayinī, and Puṇḍarīka was born as the son of his minister Śukanāsa, by name Vaiśampāyana. Puṇḍarīka had his companion named Kapiñjala, and when Puṇḍarīka's body was being taken to the heavens, he pursued him and by chance he ran over a semi-divine being who cursed him that he would be born as a horse. The horse was Indrāyudha, which was given to Candrāpīḍa as a present. One day Candrāpīḍa and Vaiśampāyana with an army set out on an expedition of conquest over the world. Candrāpīḍa rode on Indrāyudha. It so happened that one day Candrāpīḍa saw a pair of demigods and decided to chase them riding his horse Indrāyudha and was carried away by the animal far from his companions, and he reached that Acchoda lake where he met Mahāśvetā who was waiting there for the return of Puṇḍarīka. Mahāśvetā narrated her whole history to him and took him to the palace where he saw Kādambarī. Soon he had a message from the father that he should return. He had by this time rejoined the army and he asked Vaiśampāyana to bring the army and hurried back; he was eager to pay a second visit to the palace of Kādambarī, but could not do so until Vaiśampāyana had returned. But the news came that Vaiśampāyana went to the lake. There he met Mahāśvetā and fell in love with her; but she could not reciprocate the love as she was in love with Puṇḍarīka who would return, and she could not possibly know the identity of

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the two. He repeated his approaches to her like a parrot, and Mahāśvetā cursed him that he would become a parrot. Vaiśampāyana fell down dead and he became a parrot in the jungles. Candrāpīḍa went to the lake in search of Vaiśampāyana and heard about his fate and, unable to bear the calamity, he too ended his life.

Now, Candrāpīḍa who died, was born as King Śūdraka of Vidiśā. One day a woman of the hunter community, supremely handsome, brought a parrot of wonderful abilities to him. That was Vaiśampāyana, son of the minister and companion of Candrāpīḍa. The parrot narrated the events in his life up to that time; they all went to the hermitage of a sage named Jābāli, who on seeing the parrot knew all about its past birth, and on the request of the king, he narrated the whole story of Candrāpīḍa and Vaiśampāyana, in which was included the story of Mahāśvetā narrated to Candrāpīḍa by her. On the completion of the story narrated by Jābāli, Śūdraka fell down dead and there rose up Candrāpīḍa, who was living as King Śūdraka. The parrot also fell dead, and Puṇḍarīka, whose body was preserved in Heaven also revived and came down to the lake. Candrāpīḍa married Kādambarī and Puṇḍarīka married Mahāśvetā. All ended happily. Candrāpīḍa spent his time partly at Ujjayinī, his own home, and partly at Hemakūṭa, the home of Kādambarī and in the Moon in so far as he was an incarnation of the Moon.

Bāṇa had himself written only a part of the romance. The tradition is that he died before he could complete the work. It is his son who completed the work, and this part is called the Second Part, while Bāṇa's own work is known as the First Part. We have to believe that the son had completed the work in the way in which the father would have done it if he had lived to complete it. The portion written by Bāṇa covers only a very small part of the whole story; his portion ends with the first meeting of Candrāpīḍa with Kādambarī and the return of the prince to his own capital city.

The poet starts his work with a prayer and then he speaks about his own work with all its good qualities. The descriptions are varied and clear and resplendent. His theme is novel and attractive and the language that he has adopted fits into the art with the long compounds and double meanings; his work is full of similes and other figures of speech. The poem starts with the description of the city of Vidiśā and its king Śūdraka and there is the appearance of the wonderful parrot who is taken to the sage named Jābāli, who starts on the main narration of the story. Within this narration is contained the narration of the story of Mahāśvetā by herself to the prince Candrāpīḍa. After the narration of the story by Jābāli, the

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rest of the story is narrated by other characters. This device of story within story and of story relayed from the hands of one narrator to the hands of another character, produces an artistic complexity and a welcome variety in the poem.

When a long description starts, like the description of the hermitage of the sage Jābāli or of the horse Indrāyudha or of the lake Acchoda, there is a complete arrest of the movement in the story. The description is a single sentence extending to a few pages with only one predicate at the end, the description being effected by introducing a large number of epithets in syntactical relation with the main subject matter of description, with similes and other figures of speech and with the presentations of the various parts of the object of description; the descriptions are full of colour, decorated with a profusion of hyperbole. Various objects and various situations are introduced in such descriptions as taken from mythology and from Nature and also from the different classes of lore like religion and philosophy and sciences, from the customs and manners and practices of the people and from various other sources. The relation between the object of comparison in such descriptions and the thing with which there is the comparison is represented only by the form of the epithet which, having two meanings, can be applied to both in the two meanings; there is no real comparison in such similes, the comparison being only in the form of the word and not in the meaning.

Along with such descriptions, there are contexts where there is a presentation of strong emotions and where there is a narration of events. In such places there is a quick movement along with the flow of strong feelings. In such contexts, the language too changes, suiting to the context. The sentences become brief and crisp and the words used become short and simple. The compound words and the double meanings, being unsuitable for such contexts, are avoided. Such are the contexts where, after his education, the prince receives some general advice from his teacher regarding his conduct in life, or where the prince, after being separated from his companions, thinks of his own thoughtlessness in having followed a pair of supernatural beings which it was that dragged him away unawares from his companions, or where Kapiñjala advises his friend Puṇḍarīka when the latter becomes love-stricken on seeing Mahāśvetā. There are various contexts like these in the whole poem. The poem is not a string of artificial descriptions nor is it a bare narration of events. It is a happy combination of beautiful narration with proper decorations of descriptions, with various details bringing in colour and variety.

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Bāṇa is a great scholar and there is no subject in the world that has not been touched upon in the poem. That is the traditional estimate of the greatness of Bāṇa as a writer. But his erudition does not act as any stumbling block in the way of one's appreciation of the art. They all merge into his art. Beauty keeps up the weight and dignity of the art through the element of learning, and learning gets beautified through the element of art in which such learning is presented. In the field of the Grand Epics (*Mahā-kāvyas*) the *Naiṣadhīya-carita* of Śrī Harṣa can take its position by the side of Bāṇa's works in point of the combination of learning and art in a happy way, effecting harmony and unity.

Bāṇa has also written another work, the *Harṣacarita* (the story of Harṣa). Harṣa was king of Kanauj, a great emperor with many a victory to his credit against his enemies, and at the same time he was a famous ruler and patron of learning and culture; he was himself a renowned poet, having written three dramas, namely, the *Ratnāvalī*, the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Nāgānanda*. Bāṇa was his contemporary and friend. The work is in eight chapters as we now have it; it is not certain whether Bāṇa had the intention of continuing the work beyond where it now stops. Every one is agreed that the work is not complete; there is a view that Bāṇa did not write on the whole of the life history of Harṣa since Harṣa was later defeated by another great king, Pulākeśin, and so he did not want to record such an event in the life of his royal friend. I feel that he did not complete the work, though he must have meant to continue it a little further even if he did not want to record the ultimate defeat of his friend. What we have now is not a natural end of a literary work of art.

The work does not claim to be a history; it is just a literary work of art, with a historical theme. The work is not a chronicle of events with dates and with names of personalities. But there is a good description of the aspects of life at that time, especially the nature of the army and its life during an expedition. Thus there is the historical value in the form of a picture of aspects of life among the people of the time. The main story starts only in the fourth chapter. The first three chapters are devoted to the description of the ancestry of the author, how he met the hero of his work and how he was impressed by his greatness, and how when later he returned home there was a request from the people to give an account of the king.

The story starts with a great description of the city of Sthāṇvīśvara (Taneswar) the capital of King Harṣa; then a king of the dynasty named Puṣpabhūti is introduced and also the friend of that

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king named Bhairavācārya with a description of his hermitage (*Āśrama*). There were many kings who attained glory in that dynasty and we come to Prabhākara Vardhana, the father of the hero. He had two sons by name Rājya Vardhana and Harṣa Vardhana and a daughter named Rājyaśrī, who was the youngest. Their birth and the joy in the city on the occasions and the marriage of the daughter to Grahavarman are all described in great detail regarding the revels and the joys in the city.

The elder brother Rājya Vardhana was commissioned to attack the Hūṇas and Harṣa Vardhana also accompanied him. When, during the expedition, Harṣa Vardhana was once enjoying a hunt, he received news of the serious illness of his father and he returned to the capital, which was immersed in sorrow at the impending calamity to the nation and the suicide of the queen through her grief at the impending calamity. The king died and Rajya Vardhana the elder son desired to put Harṣa on the throne when he came back from his expeditions. At this time there came another sad news that Grahavarman, their brother-in-law, was slain and that their sister Rājyaśrī was imprisoned by the king of Malva, and Rājya Vardhana started to attack the Malva king. He had a complete victory over him, but he was slain by the Gauda king through treachery. Harṣa wanted to proceed immediately against the Gauda king, and here in this context there is a matter of great historical importance in that there is a narration about various kings who had met with calamity under various conditions for lack of proper forethought and for want of proper protection. So he pepares for war and there is a very graphic description of the march of an Indian army. Harṣa's sister Rājyaśrī had escaped from confinement and was hiding in the Vindhya hills where Harṣa was able to locate her through aid given by some mountaineers, at a time when she was entering the pyre to end her life. Harṣa had his revenge on the Gauda king. Harṣa had told his sister that after his expedition and victory he would join her in entering a Monastic Order with yellow robes. The story of the recovery of the sister Rājyaśrī is not complete when the work comes to a rather abrupt close.

It is a real romance and it is historical and different from his other romance only to the extent that the characters are historical and not taken from chronicles. Except the names of Harṣa and his brother and father, little is known of the history of the times from the work. We know nothing of the enemies whom Rājya Vardhana and Harṣa Vardhana defeated. It is not history; it is only a romance. He took up the historical subject only in so far as Harṣa was found to be a fit subject for such a romance. It is just like Vālmīki taking

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up the story of Śrī Rāma for his *Itihāsa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is as interesting as the other romance though there is not that complication in the plot. The story is rather simple and narrated in a straightforward way. It is a continuous narration without any sort of relay in the matter of narrating the story part by part by different characters in the story. It is the author's narration of the story and not a narration by the characters, which latter is the scheme in the *Kādambarī*.

The presence of such great heroes like Rājya Vardhana and Harṣa Vardhana itself gives a beauty to the romance. There are various descriptions of cities and mountains and hermitages. There are tense situations, moments of suspense on account of the news of unexpected events taking place. There are exciting episodes. There is plenty of scope for presenting the emotions of man in various conditions like joy and grief. There is brisk narration along with detailed descriptions. The style changes to suit the different contexts. There are long and detailed descriptions in a single sentence extending over pages with very long compounds as epithets to the object of the description, with various kinds of similes and other figures of speech, with allusions to the different types of lore like epics and religion and philosophy and sciences, with plenty of Nature coming into the descriptions, with double meaning and alliterations, and with all kinds of devices to make the work artistic and attractive. There is plenty of decorations and colours and varieties everywhere. Always the reader finds himself in a region of resplendent glow. It is very doubtful whether there is another historical theme presented in such an attractive environment. A worthy historical hero presented by a worthy artist—this is all that I can say about the work.

While in the *Kādambarī* Bāṇa starts with some comments about his own art, in the *Harṣacarita* we see him making reference to former artists with brief comments of appreciation. Just as in the *Kādambarī* Bāṇa expresses his confidence about the work being equal to any other in the field of literature through the presentation of his own view of his art, here too he expresses implicitly his confidence that this work is a worthy follower of the masterpieces in literature given by previous artists. He refers to the author of the *Mahābhārata*, the work called the *Vāsavadattā*, perhaps what will be described presently as the romance of Subandhu, the prose style of Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra, Pravarasena, evidently the author of the Prākrit poem called the *Setubandha*, the plays of Bhāsa and the poetry of Kālidāsa, sweet like the flowers just sprouting out, the *Bṛhatkathā* (Great Story), certainly the now lost story book of Guṇāḍhya and so on. He says that he was impelled to write the work by the memory of the heroic

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deeds of the great king that lingered in his heart and that he had no desire to claim a status as a great poet. It is implied that the great deeds really restrain his tongue in so far as he cannot be equal to the task of recording such deeds.

We do not know when he wrote the work, whether when king Harṣa was still alive or only after the death of Harṣa. We cannot also settle the chronological relation of this work to the *Kādambarī*. It is certain that the author died when he was writing his *Kādambarī*. It is not unlikely that he could not complete either of his two works. The author gives some information about himself and his early life. He was a rather irresponsible youth, mixing with persons of different professions and different strata of society, sometimes not very commendable company. He mentions some of his companions and also some of his ancestors and his parents by name. He had a summons from the king and he went to see King Harṣa; that was the origin of the romance. If he had such a summons, it is certain that he had earned a good name by that time. He himself says that he also joined the company of wise people and compensated for the damage he had done to himself. There is no doubt about his learning and his intellectual equipment in a variety of subjects. He says that the way in which the king received him on his first arrival was not particularly encouraging, though he began to earn the good opinion of the king gradually. The romances are not what could have been written off with speed. There must have been a lot of retouching, which must have been the case even with Kālidāsa. He must have been proceeding rather slowly and it is likely that he could not conclude his historical romance and in the case of the other, the pure romance of *Kādambarī*, he had not even proceeded very far from the beginning. From the short span of the story finished by Bāṇa and the long stretch covered by his son, it looks as though the romance would have been much longer if Bāṇa himself had concluded it according to his own scale. It is also likely that he had more or less finished his historical romance, though a part yet remains to be completed. It was perhaps for this reason that his son did not take it up, in so far as only a very small part remained, which could easily be taken as practically finished. The really interesting parts must have been closed by Bāṇa himself. The expression of the desire of Harṣa to take to yellow robes as a member of the Monastic Order could not have been an accident; Bāṇa must have meant something and there must have been some sequel to this.

b. *Subandhu*

In the *Harṣacarita*, Bāṇa mentions a work called the *Vāsavadattā*. Subandhu has written a prose romance named the *Vāsavadattā*. We

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do not know what work it could have been. A work named the *Vāsavadattā* is known even in earlier literature, and there must have been some work of that name written by some poet at a very early date. There is a view that the *Vāsavadattā* mentioned by Bāṇa is not the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu but the earlier work of that name, and there is also a view that Subandhu is earlier than Bāṇa and that Bāṇa is referring to his *Vāsavadattā,* which is available, while the earlier work is known only by name. There is no way of deciding the question one way or the other. Subandhu has been known throughout the history of Sanskrit literature as an unsurpassed master of using words in a double meaning; he is reckoned among the great poets by later writers. In some passage in his romance where there is a double meaning, there is a reference to Udyotakara which means both "shining arms" and the name of the author of a work, and with this similarity, there is a comparison of a maiden with the *Nyāya* system of philosophy. This Udyotakara cannot be much earlier than Bāṇa, if at all he is earlier. It is certain that Subandhu is later than this Udyotakara, the writer on the *Nyāya* system of philosophy. There is a similar comparison with the Buddhist system since the maiden is *Alaṅkāra-bhūṣitā* (decorated with ornaments) just as the Buddhist system is so (decorated with *Alaṅkāra,* which is a work dealing with the system). This author of the Buddhist system is supposed to be the famous Dharmakīrti, who too is not much earlier than Bāṇa. Subandhu at best can be only a contemporary of Bāṇa and not at all an earlier poet, and it is very doubtful whether the reference in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (introductory part) is to a contemporary poet. It may not be unlikely that Udyotakara is a far earlier writer and that the *Alaṅkāra* is not the work of Dharmakīrti but of an earlier writer on Buddhism.

Subandhu deplored, in the preface to his work, the decay in the appreciation of beauty among the people after the death of King Vikramāditya. This reference to Vikramāditya may be even a reference to the Vikramāditya in whose court there were according to tradition, the nine Gems. Subandhu is not one among them though there is a Buddhist mentioned as Kṣapaṇaka. But we do not know who this Vikramāditya is. Subandhu may be slightly later than Bāṇa since his work is referred to by writers on literary criticism of the eighth century, while Bāṇa is early in the seventh century. There are common expressions in the prose work of Subandhu and in a verse in the *Mālatī-mādhava* of Bhavabhūti, and the probability is that Subandhu adopted the passages in his work rather than that Bhavabhūti brought into his verse the passage in Subandhu. If he is later than Bhavabhūti, the date of Subandhu

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must be at least two centuries later than that of Bāṇa. Some situations in the *Kādambarī* are identical with situations in Subandhu, and the probability is that Subandhu made the adoption from Bāṇa rather than the other way; it may be that both had the incidents in their works as original ideas without any mutual indebtedness.

The Vāsavadattā of Subandhu's romance has nothing to do with the Vāsavadattā in the Udyana dramas of Bhāsa and of Śrī Harṣa, namely, the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* and the *Svapnavāsavadatta* of the former and the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Ratnāvalī* of the latter. Here the story relates to Vāsavadattā, daughter of a king named Sṛṅgāraśekhara of Pāṭalīputra. There was a prince named Kandarpaketu, son of King Cintāmaṇi. He had a dream one day in which he saw the form of a very handsome young lady and he was charmed by her beauty; in the company of his friend Makaranda, he set out in search of her and one day they lay down under a tree at night. But the prince could not sleep and when he was keeping vigil thinking about the object of his love, he was able to overhear the conversation of a parrot and its beloved mate. There was a very beautiful princess named Vāsavadattā, daughter of King Sṛṅgāraśekhara and the princess saw in dream a very handsome youth for whom she began to entertain great love. She commissioned a lady named Tamālikā to find out that youth. Kandarpaketu was able to meet that lady and they went to Pāṭalīputra where he saw the princess. But the king had already decided to give her in marriage to Puṣpaketu, a chieftain of the Vidyādhara clan, a group of demigods. To frustrate this event, the prince decided to elope with the princess and they went to the Vindhya hills. One day they felt tired and they slept in the forest. Vāsavadattā woke up and went out to gather some fruits and flowers and she saw two hunters (*Kirātas*) with their army pursuing her. In the fight they perished at the hands of each other. Vāsavadattā tried to take refuge in the hermitage of a sage, and the sage cursed her that she would become a statue. She got a favour by way of a mitigation of the curse to the extent that she would return to her form when she would be touched by her lover. The prince woke up, and Vāsavadattā was found missing. He wandered about and decided to end his life, when a celestial voice advised him to preserve his life. He was wandering about and by chance he saw a statue and when he touched it, it became a lady and that was his sweetheart. The suicide episode reminds one of the similar episode in the *Kādambarī* when both Kādambarī and Mahāśvetā resort to suicide on seeing the death of their lovers and when some celestial voice stopped them from doing so; in the statue converting itself into the beloved of the prince,

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we see an echo of how in Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvásīya*, the heroine had become a creeper and how on the touch of the hero, she reverted to her original form.

In contrast to the story in the works of Bāṇa, especially in the *Kādambarī*, there is nothing that can be called a story in this work. But there are various descriptions in this work in which the author has found a chance to exhibit his skill and he has shown off his skill in the artificial use of words in such descriptions, just what was found in the works of Bāṇa. Mountains and rivers, heroes with their valour and courage, charming heroines, armies and fights—all such grand topics are made use of for detailed descriptions. Subandhu himself claims that there is a double meaning in every syllable in his work. Anyway, there is a super-abundance of it in his work. There is no doubt that as in Bāṇa's work, there is a music in his prose with the long compound words rolling on like waves on the sea-shore without an end, one coming after the other. There is plenty of hyperbole, there is plenty of alliteration. Similes based on a common epithet with two meanings applicable to the two objects taken up for comparison, contrasts in the same object between two aspects expressed by two words with double meanings, the contrast being only in the application of one of the meanings, and all such devices found in Bāṇa are found here handled in a masterly way.

c. *Daṇḍin*

Daṇḍin, the author of a prose romance called the *Daśakumāracarita*, has a unique position among the poets of Sanskrit, especially in its earlier stages, being equally famous both as a poet and also as a literary critic. His work on literary criticism, known as the *Kāvyādarśa* (the Poetry-Mirror) is a standard book on the subject, presenting the classical and formal doctrines of literary criticism, along with the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (Embellishments in Poetry) by Bhāmaha; but the latter does not have a position among poets. We know practically nothing about Daṇḍin and his time. There is a tradition about Daṇḍin being the author of three works. One is his work on literary criticism and the other must be his prose romance. About the third there is no clear evidence; he mentions a work on prosody in his work on literary criticism, and it is suggested that this work is his own. But there is no evidence in favour of it. There has been a doubt about the identity of the authorship of the prose romance and the work on literary criticism. There is yet another work called the *Avantisundarīkathā* (the Tale of the Beauty of Avantī). This is assigned to Daṇḍin, and it is held that

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the *Daśakumāracarita*, having the same theme, is not a work of Daṇḍin, but only an adaptation in prose of the real work of Daṇḍin. In that work, Daṇḍin is found to be the great-grand-son of a friend of Bhāravi, the author of the Grand Epic, the *Kirātārjunīya*. Daṇḍin's date may then be even in the sixth century, anterior to Bāṇa.

Here we consider only the prose romance, the *Daśakumāracarita* (the Tale of the Ten Princes). Now it is available in two parts, known as the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* (the former Part) and the *Uttarapīṭhikā* (the latter Part); the former is in five chapters and the latter is in eight chapters. Generally it is accepted that only the latter Part is the work of Daṇḍin, and that the former Part was added to fill up the blank. Certainly, Daṇḍin must have started in the very beginning and some part of the beginning must have been lost, which blank was filled up by a later addition in the form of the five chapters of the former Part. There are some portions added at the end, and that portion is not recognised as a part of the genuine work of Daṇḍin by any scholar. The story relates to ten princes, sons of ministers included, who got separated and who had arranged to meet at the end in Ujjayinī; they met and they narrated their adventures. In the *Pūrvapīṭhikā*, the former part, which is of an introductory nature, there is presented Rājahaṁsa, king of Pāṭalīputra, and his ministers who too had their sons. The king had to wage war with the king of Malva named Mānasāra and for the safety of the queen she was sent to the Vindhya hills. Rājahaṁsa became unconscious through wounds received in the battle and the horses drew the chariot into the same forest. When the queen heard that the king was lost, she was about to commit suicide, when the king who was in the vicinity, became conscious and recognised her voice as she was saying her last prayer. They were united; the queen gave birth to a son, who was given the name of Rājavāhana. The ministers too had their sons and five more were brought to the king. At that time, the king was taken to the netherworld and the princes started to make a search; they returned after their adventures and met at Ujjayinī, and they narrated their experiences.

In the field of prose romance I will assign to Daṇḍin the same position which I will assign to Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* in the field of *dramas*, while to Bāṇa and Subandhu I will assign the position which I will assign to Śrī Harṣa, the author of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, and Māgha, the author of the *Śiśupālavadha* in the field of the Grand Epics. In Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti and King Harṣa, in Māgha and in Bhāravi and in Śrī Harṣa, we noted that the characters were drawn from ancient chronicles and epics, and they formed part of what can be styled the "high life", the life of the elite. It is true that the cha-

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racters are presented as companions of the civil population and not as part of the royal pomp and aristocratic exclusiveness; yet they play their part in that high circle. It is in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka that we saw a gambling den and one of the usual visitors to it taking to burglary for personal ends, to get money for the release of his beloved from service; we saw also a shampooer and some cartmen in the streets. There were also executioners. They are all brought into contact with people in the elevated levels of life like the hero and the heroine. In the *Daśakumāracarita* also we find a large number of such characters brought on the stage and presented to us as functioning in what may be termed "low life". But nowhere, as is also the case in the *Mṛcchakaṭika,* is life presented as low. Art elevates them to a high level. The distinction is in the material. Kālidāsa and others bring kings and their associates to the level of the common citizen; what Śūdraka in his *Mṛcchakaṭika* and Daṇḍin in his *Daśakumāracaritā* accomplish is to take their characters from what are usually condemned as low life and to elevate them to the normal levels of civic life. A king as king and a burglar as burglar cannot shine in art; only as good citizens can they play their part in art, and this is what all the poets have succeeded in accomplishing. Perhaps it is more difficult to accomplish this with the material taken from what is known as low life.

We find in the *Daśakumāracarita,* princes and kings who had come to grief, lovers taking to all sorts of methods to achieve their ends, women who lead a loose life freely accessible to those who can pay, magicians, holy men in the robes of ascetics with life quite the opposite of what their external form indicates, pedlars, people earning their living through cock-fights and other forms of public entertainments in the streets, actors, holy personages, learned men, murderers and burglars; we see various kinds of adventures and risks to life, and we see heroism and valour. We see magnanimity and nobility in character and also faithfulness between married or loving couples; we see also the opposite of it, ruthless association between illegitimate couples in prohibited relationships. Cities and palaces and temples and also forests and rivers and other aspects of Nature are graphically described. These situations, unexpected events, despondency and grief, reckless undertakings in despair, impersonation, fraudulence and various sorts of questionable acts are found in abundance. The characters are often presented exhibiting the contrast between their profession and their actual life. Various kinds of moral precepts to justify evil deeds are given at every step, rules about social decencies and losses to others are ignored and actions are justified as serving personal ends that are exalted as the

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highest virtue in man. We also find various sports and amusements and pastimes introduced into the narrations.

In the *Daśakumāracarita,* we see the true life of the people, free from virtuosity and religiosity, realistic, practical and purposive, presented in a form of artistic beauty. The presentation is so artistic that no one feels wounded though lives of many types of people are caricatured in the work. The caricatures are so innocent and impersonal that even the targets would take such jokes in good part and have a laugh at it, instead of being offended and instead of complaining that their susceptibilities have been wounded. People enjoy their own victimisation on account of the artistic setting in which such matters are presented. The hits are directed more towards people who are supposed to lead a holy life and who are accepted as defenders of virtue and of moral life, like the Brahmins and the members of the Monastic Orders, both men and women, belonging to Buddhistic, Jain and Vedic sects. The women members of the Orders are engaged as working to bring the loving youths together. Princes take to stealing. Brahmins who perform sacrifices amass gold. Thieving is a virtue when it is in the house of misers who amass gold. They exploit religion and temples and gods to secure help in frauds. Along with such realism in depicting the life, there are also various sorts of supernatural events introduced which present the general beliefs current among the people.

The style in the romance is simple and natural, elegant and fluent without any touch of artificiality, free from long compounds and double meanings, without any of the similes worked out through the comparison only in the form of the epithet and not in the meaning of the words used to express the comparison. But it is not at all a bare narration; there are embellishments to give a beauty to the language. There are various kinds of similes and other forms of figures of speech. The descriptions are vivid and realistic. The style is uniform without a change from long compounds and complex constructions to simplicity.

The subject matter consists of different stories. But the work is not a collection of isolated stories. There is a unity in the theme; the stories are assembled together into an artistic whole as a single unit. The stories are narrated by persons who are also the heroes of the stories, forming into a group, and the stories are narrated by them all coming together. This setting itself brings a unity into the work. Further, the characters and events in the different stories are interlocked; and one story flows into the other and a subsequent story rises out of the previous. The unity in the work is brought about by the structure of the material.

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Many of the events and characters and situations may seem to indicate a state of affairs in society debased and demoralised. In their raw form, many of them may be repellent and objectionable from the point of view of social decency. But in the romance, they all acquire a beauty on account of the way in which they are presented. Their repellent nature is concealed in the workmanship. Men and women who lead the sort of life that is not sanctioned in decent society appear as common citizens whom we meet in the country and whom we like also. All such characters and all such events that are described in the romance are what are found in any advanced country, among any civilized nation at any time. Their presence does not indicate any debased or demoralised condition in the society.

There is a general criticism against Sanskrit literature that the poetry is dominated by the religious spirit and that works are composed to please the kings. The romance *Daśakumāracarita*, just like the drama *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka, will provide the right reply for this criticism. No king will like to be told that the princes lead the sort of life described in the romance. The romance is a revolt against all rules of religiosity in public life. This shows the catholicity of the general outlook of the people and the liberality and tolerance of those who led the nation. The nation wanted only art and did not care what the material was that was used to produce the art. The leaders encouraged art and accepted as art whatever was beautiful without any consideration for the nature of the raw material for the art. Neither the kings nor the guardians of religion interfered with the cultured public taste. That is why such a romance was written, such a romance was accepted as a great work of art and such a romance came down through ages as a masterpiece when a large number of literary works were stopped within the sieve that filtered the literary specimens.

(iii) CAMPŪ (mixed prose)

In Sanskrit there is no difference at all between the language of prose as the normal in the language and the language of poetry in which the poets take liberties in the matter of grammar and syntax and in which the poets adopt some archaisms. We cannot determine whether any such distinction existed in the Vedic period. Certainly the language of considerable parts of the *Ṛgveda* is more archaic than the language of some of the parts of the *Sāmaveda* and the language of the *Yajurveda* and parts of the *Atharvaveda*. It is not unlikely that the difference is due to the difference in the language form, namely, the form of prose and metre, and not due

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to the difference in their age. But at a later age there is absolute identity between the language adopted in prose and the language adopted in verse. There is an attempt at archaism and at introducing deviations from the strict rules of grammar in the *Itihāsas* and in the *Purāṇas;* it is not a separate dialect or a distinct stage in the language evolution that is noticed in the *Itihāsas* and in the *Purāṇas,* but only an attempt to give the literary form some archaic colour.

The device of mixing up prose and verse in the same literature is a device found even in the earliest stages of literary evolution in Sanskrit, and though the entire *Ṛgveda* is in verse, there are prose sections in the *Atharvaveda* which is mainly in metrical form. In the *Yajurveda* and in the *Brāhmaṇas* that are essentially prose works, there are verses introduced. This feature is retained in the *Itihāsas* and in the *Purāṇas,* and portions in the *Mahābhārata* and in some of the *Purāṇas* are in prose, though they are works in metrical form. Similarly even from the earliest stage it is noticed that authors take to metrical form even in works where as a rule prose form is adopted as in dealing with scientific subjects.

It is in the dramas that we find an equal proportion of prose and verse mixed together; in other works, prose is introduced in a work in metrical form or metrical passages are introduced in a prose work. The admixture of prose and metrical passages in more or less equal proportions took a definite form in the classical period, and this became a special pattern of literary art in Sanskrit known as the *Campū.* This must have been a very early feature in Sanskrit literature, and there is mention of such admixture found in early works on literary criticism, where poetry is divided under the headings of prose, metrical and admixture. But the earliest specimen that we have in this pattern does not go earlier than the close of the tenth century A.D. From that time we find a large number of specimens, the most important being the *Rāmayaṇa Campū* of Bhoja, king of Dhārā. It is also known as the *Bhoja campū.* It deals with the story of Śrī Rāma closely following the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, and ends with the fifth of the six Books in the original. Later authors have filled up the blank by adding one more Book; but the second Part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki known as the *Uttara-rāmāyaṇa* (Later story of Rāma) is not included in this work. We do not know whether Bhoja meant to write that also. No later poet has tried to fill up that part either.

Much need not be said about this pattern since this is only a combination in the same type of the features of the *Mahā Kāvyas*

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(Grand Epics) like the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha and the *Naiṣadhīya-carita* of Śrī Harsa and the features of the *Gadya* (Prose) form in poetry like the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa and the *Vāsavadatta* of Subandhu. In such combinations, descriptions of objects of Nature like a mountain or an ocean are given in prose and narrations and presentations of emotional states are given in verse form. But this distinction is not strictly kept up; it is only a general division found in the available specimens, especially in the Bhoja *Campū*, which is the masterpiece according to tradition in India, just as Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* is the masterpiece in that pattern. There are *Campū* works earlier than the time of King Bhoja, and some of them come from the pen of Jains, with some religious touch in them. After the time of King Bhoja, there are many specimens, the chief of them being the *Bhārata Campū* of Ananta Bhaṭṭa.

(iv) REVIEW

In the prose works and in the works of prose mixed with metrical passages we do not find any specimen that can compare with the works of Kālidāsa. What we find is more the style of Māgha and Śrī Harṣa, the authors of the *Śiśupālavadha* and of the *Naiṣadhīya-carita*. From the earliest times, Sanskrit poetry had been noted for its Nature element. The *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* are both high-class Nature poetry. So are the two *Itihāsas*, the *Mahābhārata* of Veda Vyāsa and the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti too come within the group of Nature poets.

There is no literature in the world in which there is an unbroken continuity of what can be called First Class poetry. It is rarely that a great poet is born, and such a poet becomes a poet of the world, a poet important in world literature. Then the majority of them belong to the literature of that particular language. The contribution of Sanskrit to the world literature is not lesser than what has been contributed by any other literature; it is even more. In estimating the literature, we must take note of the duration of such development of literature in the language. From this point of view, if we add the duration of the development of literature in all the other languages of the world together, that will be less than the total span of the growth of literature in Sanskrit. Further, there is no literature that has produced such a large number of varieties in literary patterns, and in each pattern the number of specimens preserved is far more than what has grown in other literatures. Where outside Sanskrit is there such a rich collection of high-class poetry like the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* going back to more than a millennium before Christ? Where outside Sanskrit is there

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anything that can be called Nature poetry in any literature of the ancient world and when and where did Nature find a place in literatures outside Sanskrit? Where in any other literature is a work like the *Mahābhārata* both in bulk and in quality? Where is the literature that has such a large number of Grand Epics (*Mahākāvyas*) and Dramas?

The only factor that has not kept up its continuity is the admiration of Nature in literature; certainly no poet other than Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, after Veda Vyāsa and Vālmīki, has shown that appreciation of Nature, in Sanskrit poetry. But there is a continuity and growth in all the other features of a great literature. Plot, characters and style form the chief elements in literature. In all these features, every poet has shown his originality and his skill in manipulation. Heaven and Earth, man and gods and demigods and Nature (both animate and inanimate) are brought together into a single family. Kings and gods become common people and the common people are elevated to the highest status. Human emotions are transplanted into the gods and divine greatness and virtues are imported into man. Life is presented in its true nature. The world is presented as a place where man can live the happiest life, where man can have the best enjoyments, where there is scope for man to show off all the nobility of his nature. Sin and suffering are not within the *nature* of the world; they are mere appearances in the experiences of man due to some defect in the understanding of the real nature of the world and of the true problems in man's life in this world. Defects can be removed through a proper understanding of the nature of the world and of the problems of life. It is this that the poets have attempted and also accomplished with success, so far as Sanskrit literature is concerned. The poets have a message; they do not preach, they do not give sermons. They work out the cure for man's sufferings from within man himself and not from outside through prescriptions of "thou shalt do this, thou shalt not do that".

There is a variety in the matter of characters that are introduced into the poetry in Sanskrit literature; there is something in common among all of them, whatever be the level and field from which they are selected; they are all noble, with human touches, with sympathy and tolerance, arousing a sense of brotherliness in the hearts of the readers, natural on account of the human frailties and failings and yet attractive on account of the art surrounding them and presented in them. The plots are all skilfully handled with surprises and suspenses, with no undue strain to the mind, easy with events following as direct sequences from events, with quick movements and glowing decorations in the form of descrip-

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tions and embellishments in language and in meaning, full of action and heroism and enjoyment, never trespassing the bounds of decency. The world is converted into an art, and the conversion is only to this extent that the world, really an art, is not known as an art by the common people and is presented as an art by the poets. We are transported into a new situation, but we are yet in this world; we see nothing that is not in the world and we see nothing that is only a commonplace or is repulsive in the world.

The language kept up in the Sanskrit literature is something without a parallel in any other language. The language of Sanskrit literature has been condemned in modern times as very artificial. But we must recognise the fact that what is art is only an artificiality; the distinction between artificiality in general and art is that in art there is an element of beauty brought about by the artificiality. If there is no such element of beauty, that ceases to be an art. Cooking materials for food are artificial, but cooking is an art if what is cooked has an enjoyable flavour. House-building for residence, dress to cover nudity and various other factors in human life are aspects of artificialities, and they become art when there is an element of beauty associated with such artificiality. Music and painting and sculpture and dance are all artificialities. Modes of transport and communications are artificialities. But everywhere man tries to effect some beauty also, and man creates art.

Language may be natural to man. But man tries to effect something more than communication of ideas through this medium, and we get the art of literature. That is what has been achieved in Sanskrit poetry. A thing becomes beautiful when it is presented in a particular way in language, and that is an aspect of poetic art. But this does not exhaust the field of poetic art. Poetry is to be recited and man enjoys the poetry through the ear as much as through his heart when the ideas are presented in artistic language. Just as music and dance and facial get-up together form the art of dramatic representation, similarly it is the combination of language that gives pleasure to the ear and also to the heart that can be called poetry. Long compounds, double meanings, alliterations, collocations of different sounds of special features and all such factors form elements of poetry. May be that in the *Ṛgveda*, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Mahābhārata* and in the works of Kālidāsa there are no such manipulations of language, and yet they are the best specimens of high-class poetic art. But that does not mean that there are no other modes of poetic art. A solo singing can be the best form of musical art; yet there is art also in the combination of

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music with dance and instruments. The latter day *Mahā Kāvyas* (Grand Epics) and the poetry in prose form and poetry in which metrical form is combined with prose are specimens of a certain aspect of art. They satisfied the needs of a cultured people and to that extent they deserve to be included within the region of art. If they do not satisfy the needs of another country or of another epoch, that does not mean that they are not art; the mistake may be in the people of the other epoch and the other region.

It is only in the Sanskrit literature that we note the unity among the world of religion, the world of philosophy and the world of art. The artists find an art in the creation of a god and in the intuition of a philosopher, and the leaders of religion and the philosophers accepted the artistic nature of the world presented by the artists. The result was that literary art gave as much emotional stir to the people as religion and shaped and guided the people in their life. People saw art in the religion and religion in the art. What is noteworthy in Sanskrit literature is that it was a living force among the people just like religion, shaping their life, guiding them in their life, inspiring them in their life. There was no split among the religious leaders and the philosophers and the artists; in nearly all the cases they were the same. Art became a national movement, understood by the people, enjoyed by the people and profitable to the people. The *Vedas,* the *Purāṇas* and the *Itihāsas,* the Dramas, the *Mahākāvyas,* the Prose *Kāvyas* and the *Campus*—all form a single unit of art.

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IX. MINOR TYPES

(i) GENERAL

In every literature there are two types of poetry, one called the high-class poetry and the other called the minor type. It does not mean that what are called minor types have no high status in poetry. It is only a conventional classification. Aristotle has spoken of the Epic and the Drama as belonging to the high class-poetry, and the others he classifies as minor types. In works on literary criticism in Sanskrit, poetry is classified as Prose, Verse and Mixed. They may be in Sanskrit or in Prākrit. Prose may be *Kathā* or *Ākhyāyikā*. The exact distinction between these two types of prose is a matter of controversy, some critics not accepting such a distinction at all; and even among those who accept the classification there is a difference of opinion about the exact nature of the two types.

Poetry in the form of verses they classify as poems of a single stanza, poems of two stanzas and poems of more stanzas, poems that are made up of cantos and so on. The dramas have ten varieties, of which two are major and eight are minor. So far as prose is concerned, one cannot write a poem in a few lines. It must be a fairly long piece. Thus there is no classification of prose works on the basis of size, as in the case of poems in verses. In the case of poetry in verses, one can write a poem of a single stanza about a flower or about the moon or about a brook. But one cannot write a long poem about such a small subject as a bird and its plumes and its notes. For a long poem we require some action and some situation. Action means the presence of men, and action also means a story, a series of actions one following another in some sequence of cause and effect. A former action must lead to a later action and all the actions together must thus form a unit. It is such a unit that we call a plot. Thus in a long poem the two important factors are characters and plot. A poet may write a short poem about the charming glances of a handsome maiden. In that poem we do not say that the maiden is a character; we speak of men and women appearing in a poem as characters only if there is a story, that means, if there is a series of actions associated with the men and women appearing in the poem, all such actions together forming a single unit. Thus we speak of a poem as coming within the pattern of high-class poetry only when there is the life of man presented in it, when there is presented in it men in continuous action

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with a beginning and with an end, the beginning leading to a middle and the middle culminating in an end. That is what we find in a Grand Epic (*Mahā-Kāvya*) and in a drama. Even in the minor varieties of dramas there are presented men in action, there are characters appearing; for that reason such varieties were dealt with as parts of dramas themselves. But in the case of poetry in the form of verses, there are various types where there is nothing that can be called a character and a plot; so they are classed as minor types. On account of the similarity in size, some types are included in the minor type even when there is a plot and also characters. There are such smaller varieties even in the prose works, and so such of them are also brought within this chapter about minor types of poetry in Sanskrit. Some other points are also considered within the scheme of this chapter.

(ii) SANDEŚAS

In dealing with Kālidāsa, three of his dramas and two of his Grand Epics and also two minor poems were taken up for consideration. *Sandeśa* is one of such minor poems. In this type the poet introduces a character in a state of grief on account of separation from his beloved, and the beloved too is in a similar state of anguish. The hero sends a message of solace to the heroine through some messenger; Kālidāsa introduces a cloud as the messenger to take the message. Here the cloud is introduced as a high-born youth, and right through he appears as a person with life and intelligence and feelings. He has his friends in the mountains, the rivers are his beloved and the birds are his companions; the peasant girls and the girls in the city are also his friends. We forget the cloud and we see only the living person as the carrier of the message.

At a later stage, there have appeared many imitations of this type started by Kālidāsa. There is no evidence of Kālidāsa having had a model for his poem. The idea of sending a message in a state of intense love is very old and is familiar in literature. Śrī Rāma sent a message to Sītā when she was abducted by a demon; Śrī Rāma sent a search party and Hanūman carried this message to be delivered when she would be found during the search. This is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. Kālidāsa refers to it in his poem. In the *Ṛgveda*, there is the story of a youth named Śyāvāśva who fell in love with the daughter of a king. The king was unwilling to give his daughter in marriage to one who was not recognised as a poet, and the boy was not so recognised. At a later stage his poetic talents were roused up and he was recognised as a great poet. In this state he sent a message to the king and the message

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was carried by Night. It was Kālidāsa who constructed a new type of poetry called the Message Poetry (*Sandeśa Kāvya*).

Not a single one of the imitations comes up to the level of the work of Kālidāsa. That is the case with the Grand Epics and the dramas. The techniques of Kālidāsa's work were maintained in the imitations. The poem is always in two parts. The metre used is what is known as the *Mandākrāntā* with four lines of seventeen syllables each. In the first part, the hero is presented and there appears the messenger. The route to the destination is described in this part. In the second part are included the destination, the house of the heroine, the heroine and her state of grief in separation, the message describing the hero's own condition and a word of solace, with an identification mark mentioning some incident which only the hero and the heroine could know, to assure that the messenger is genuine.

All kinds of messengers are made use of. It is mostly a bird like a nightingale, a parrot, a peacock, or a bee. Why should that messenger come there at that time? Why should the messenger go to the place? Is it for the special errand or is that its natural destination too? Can the messenger accomplish the mission? There is much of imperfection in the poems on such matters and a literary critic draws attention to such defects in the specimens he must have had before him. There have been many poems of this type produced after the time of Kālidāsa. None of the great poets after Kālidāsa have taken up this type. It is not unlikely that they too had written poems of this type; but it is only their specimens of the major type, dramas and Grand Epics, that have come down to us. The number available in this type is also really large.

Although the specimens now available do not come up to the level of the poems of Kālidāsa, they are all good poetry. We see very interesting descriptions. Cities with palaces and temples and with various kinds of revels, drinking-houses and parks, with theatres and mansions and streets, are graphically described in most of them. The country parts and forests and hills and rivers, animals and birds, trees and creepers and flowers, cultivated fields and peasant girls, artisans following various trades—all such phases of life in the country are introduced into such poems in describing the route to the destination in the first part. There is much of geographical and historical material too available in them since they mention places and persons of importance. We see the various aspects of life and the general condition of the people.

This is a type of lyrical poetry that is not found in any other literature. Generally love in separation is the chief emotion de-

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picted in this type of poetry. In the second part there is the description of the condition of the heroine and the description of the condition of the hero also, meant to inform the heroine of the reciprocation of the love and the suffering in separation on the part of the hero; here there is full scope for depicting love in separation. It may be that they all fall within a certain set pattern first devised by Kālidāsa. But that does not mean that there is no originality. Each specimen shows a clear individuality of its own in spite of this similarity of pattern. There are occasional references in the first part to lovers meeting and enjoying life; this is only to be a contrast to the real theme which is love in separation to be taken up in the second part. Just as the general pattern of human appearance is the same and yet each individual has a speciality of his own, even in the *Sandeśa Kāvya* (Message Poetry) also, the general pattern of the emotion of love in separation is the same, and yet in each we see also an individuality in the treatment of the theme.

In later times there has been introduced a slight deviation from the general pattern by some poets. In a few poems, the message is sent by the heroine to the hero who had gone away; the heroine sends some one to search for the hero and deliver a message. In some cases the poem has taken a philosophical and religious turn, just as there has been a similar tendency in dramas also like the *Prabodhacandrodaya*. Here a soul in suffering, eager to meet the Supreme Lord, sends a message to Him. Here the love is for the Lord and there is separation also. In such cases also, the poetry is really good. There is full scope in them for the free flow of the love and devotion which a pious soul feels for the Lord and of his anxiety to be re-united with the Lord.

Kālidāsa has written another lyric describing the six seasons, and this work is called the *Ṛtu-saṁhāra* (the Cycle of Seasons). There have not been many imitations of this type in later times. I have not seen many; I have the copy of a later work of this type. Generally seasons are described in the Grand Epics (*Mahā Kāvyas*). It has already been said in dealing with Kālidāsa that there is a difference of opinion regarding the authenticity of this work as by Kālidāsa. Some do not accept it as Kālidāsa's poem; since it is doubtful if Kālidāsa himself wrote it and since there are not many imitations of this, the pattern is not taken up for consideration separately.

(iii) BHAKTI (DEVOTION)

There are many works in Sanskrit in the form of presenting the *Bhakti* (Devotion) which pious people feel for the Supreme Lord

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or for the Supreme Goddess. In them we see the heart of the poet. There is communion between the poet and the Supreme. The poet identifies himself with the Supreme. The Supreme may be presented as an individual God or Goddess in distinct aspects; yet each one of them is the Supreme with all the glory and with all the powers. There is no terror of an autocratic power. There is always friendly communion. The Lord and the Goddess are presented as having all the feelings and all the traits and even all the frailties of human beings. Love and jealousy and anger, quarrels and taunts and threats, occasional attempts to conceal truth and even to tell lies to escape in situations of predicament when associations with rivals are revealed—all such happenings in the domestic and civic life of the citizen are introduced in depicting the devotion of the poet to the Supreme. The Supreme becomes a human being without losing His Glory and His Power.

a. *Śaṅkara*

Śaṅkarācārya, the founder of the Vedānta system known as *Advaita* (Monism), is also known as the author of a large number of devotional lyrics. One cannot say whether all of them are the compositions of the same poet and how many of them, if any, can be accepted as the work of the great Teacher of Monism. They are all poetry of a high order of lyrical beauty, in which the heart of the poet flows out, with elegant style, music of language, rhythm and cadence and all the good qualities of high-class lyrics. They are about various aspects of the Supreme, and we see in them the heart of the poet in various moods with this common factor that there is communion with the Supreme Lord.

One of them needs special mention and that is the lyric known as the *Saundarya-lahari* (Waves of Beauty). Here Śaṅkara sings of the Glories of the Great Goddess who it is that gives the power to the Lord for His various activities of Creation and Protection. There is the element of beauty in the Goddess, there is the element of love and its aspects; and yet the greatness of the Goddess is fully maintained in the midst of this human touch of the beauty of form and of love and love affairs.

It is full of technicalities about a particular form of Idol worship, what is known as the worship of the Divine Power (*Śakti*) coming under the *Tāntric* school. The various symbols connected with this form of worship and the various doctrines and beliefs current within the school, are introduced in the poem. Without a commentary the full inner meaning of the poem cannot be understood;

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and yet it is simple poetry whose beauty every one with a sense of poetic value can understand and enjoy. The language is simple and lucid. One can enjoy its music even without knowing the intricacies of the symbolism and technicalities of the form of worship which comes in as the back-ground of the poem. There is poetry, there is deep philosophy, there is also religious fervour, in this poem.

b. *Kulaśekhara*

There was a king of Kerala named Kulaśekhara who was a great poet, the author of two dramas named the *Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa* and the *Subhadrāharaṇa*. There was a Kulaśekhara who is revered as a holy personage (*Ālvār*), a great devotee of the Lord, famous in the School of Viṣṇu worship. There was a Kulaśekhara who has composed a devotional song by name *Mukundamālā* (Garland of *Mukunda*, which is another name for the Great God Viṣṇu). There is considerable difference of opinion about the above three Kulaśekharas and their mutual relation, whether they are the same or different.

c. *Mayūra*

It is supposed that Mayūra was a friend and father-in-law of Bāṇa, the great writer of prose romances. He is supposed to have been famous in the court of king Harṣa of Kanauj, the great dramatist and contemporary of Bāṇa. He has written a lyric in 100 verses about the Sun, and it is hence known as *Sūrya-śataka* (Sun-Century). It deals with the various aspects of the Sun like his chariot and his rays and his disk. The Sun is the Supreme Deity in the world. The poetry of the *Sūrya-śataka* has been appreciated by writers on literary criticism for its imagination and for its style. There are various imageries. The ideas are conveyed as suggested by such imagery and not through direct expression by the language used.

d. *Bāṇa*

Bāṇa's lyric known as *Caṇḍī-śataka* (The Great Goddess-Century) is another work of this type. It cannot be said that they are religious poetry. They are religious only in the sense that gods and goddesses are found described in them. The poets find the beauty of life in the various gods and goddesses. There is a clear human touch in all of them. The experience of bliss when a poet is in the state of communion with the divine, flows out in the form of high-class poetry. In religion we have the sermons of some one. Here we have only poetry and no sermon.

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e. *Līlāśuka*

Līlāśuka is one of the romantic figures in Sanskrit poetry; it seems that he was a man of worldly passions and that one day he was crossing a flood to reach the home of his beloved and that when he reached the other side, he caught hold of something that looked like a thick creeper; actually it was a cobra and he remained supporting himself on it till morning since he could not ascend to the shore in the dark. In the morning when he found out the truth, he repented his life and became an ascetic taking the name of Līlāśuka; his original name was Vilvamaṅgalam.

His lyrical work is known as the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* (The Ear-nectar about Kṛṣṇa). The work deals with the early life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa among the cow-herds, with his companions and with the damsels of the cow-herd settlements, with some love episodes and with some miracles in the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. There is deep mysticism in the poem. I cite some specimens of mysticism:

> Here in front is the very tall tree. Beyond that is a path. That path leads to a cow-herd settlement. Near about that region is the charming river Jumna. Within the jungles on its banks, dark with the thick *Tamāla* trees, there is a cow-herd boy looking after a herd of cattle. O friend, he will show you the right path.
>
> Pay heed to this supreme advice, O people who are fatigued after continuous wanderings in the thick forest regions of scriptures: you search for the true meaning of the *Upaniṣads* in the cottages of the cow-herd damsels; (you will find it there) tied down to a mortar.

Here are some allusions to the common episodes in the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa turned into deep philosophical teachings. It is said that when he was composing the poems he had a picture of Śrī Kṛṣṇa before him and that he included in the collection only such of the verses for which there was the approval of the picture through a nod of the head. It is in three cantos. There is a view that only the first canto really belongs to his work of this name and that the remaining are only collections of his stray compositions.

f. *Jayadeva*

Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* (Song Govinda, which is another name for Śrī Kṛṣṇa) is one of the most beautiful songs within the type of lyrics in Sanskrit. It is in the form of a drama with Śrī Kṛṣṇa, his beloved named Rādhā and her companion as characters. When

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Śrī Kṛṣṇa was sporting in the forest with Rādhā, there was some misunderstanding and he separated himself from her. The drama depicts the efforts of the companion to bring the couple together. Mostly the songs deal with the pangs of grief in separation. It is in twelve chapters and each song has eight lines. The story is narrated and the characters are introduced in verses and then there is the dialogue of the drama in songs. All the songs are of the nature of lyrics, so are a few verses too.

In both the above works relating to Śrī Kṛṣṇa, there is a wonderful combination of love with devotional fervour, a rare combination of irreconcilable parts. It is generally held that love is an impediment in the way of religion and in the way to the goal. Here love is taken as the true path to the goal. The music of the language in both is something that can never be surpassed. The language is chaste and the style is simple and flowing. The lyrics, in both the cases, evoke a feeling of devotional fervour in the hearer even without the hearer knowing the meaning of the passage; such is the effect of the music in the language. It is more music than poetry, and it is high-class poetry too.

g. *Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.*

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Nārāyaṇīya* is a summary in beautiful poetry, of the *Purāna* known as the *Bhāgavata*. It consists of a hundred lyrics, each lyric having ten verses, sometimes a little more. Thus there are a little over a thousand verses. A large number of metres are used in the poem. The style is grand and the language is chaste. The author is a great grammarian and he uses a large number of rare grammatical forms without any strain or effort; such words simply flow in a natural way. The poet is known to have been suffering from rheumatism, and it is said that he addressed the poems to the Deity in the temple called Guruvāyūr and that he got cured thereby. Though a summary of a *Purāna*, it is an original poem and a poem of great beauty. Though a devotee, there is no sentimentalism in him; he is a realist with a practical outlook. I cite a typical passage:

> Your activity in the form of Creation is full of suffering carrying with it a variety of sorrows through rebirths for those who live in the world—such was my view at a prior stage, O Unconquerable. But I do not think so any longer. But for that Creation how will the living beings drink the flow of the beauty of Your form, so very sweet, through the eyes and through the ears and thus sport in the ocean of Supreme Bliss?

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He says that wealth departs from those who are devoted to wealth on account of its fidelity to the Lord, and on account of this fidelity wealth is condemned as unsteady; but wealth remains constant by the side of those who are devoted to the Lord. The poet does not teach renunciation. The world is beautiful because there is God in the world, because the world is an emanation from, and a manifestation of, the Lord.

(iv) LOVE

Love is the most prominent theme in Sanskrit poetry. In many cases it is very difficult to classify a poem as coming under love or as coming under devotion to the Divine. It is especially the case with a poem like the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva described just above. The fact is that in Indian thought there is no difference between love which a young couple feel for each other and the love which a devotee feels for the Divine. In essence there is no difference; the difference is only in the object coming within the sphere of the feelings. There is no carnal element in love; it is just an emotional state of ecstasy. Beauty evokes love. In one case it is the beauty of form in man and in the other case it is the beauty of the Divine which evokes the feelings of love in the mind. Still we make a difference on account of the difference in the object coming within the mental state.

The best specimen of a love lyric is the *Amaru Śataka* (Amaru Century). It is a lyric in a hundred verses; in each verse a separate situation or a separate mental condition, in a state of love, is depicted. The situations and the mental states may be produced by jealousy and suspicion of betrayal and other causes. The work belongs to a king named Amaru. It is said that really it is the work of the great Śaṅkarācārya, the founder of the Monistic (*Advaita*) School of Vedānta. Śaṅkarācārya was challenged by the members of the assembly when in an assembly he claimed proficiency in all subjects (*Sarvajña*=omniscience). He was an ascetic from his boyhood without any stage of a married life. If he had any knowledge of love, he could not be such an ascetic and if he had no knowledge of love, he could not be proficient in *all* the subjects. So Śaṅkarācārya entered the body of a king named Amaru who died at that moment, through his Yogic powers, and lived in the palace for a hundred days with the queens. He wrote a verse each day in the company of a queen and returned claiming knowledge of love also.

The poem starts with two benedictory verses. In these two verses there is a combination of what are irreconcilable. Being bene-

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dictions in the form of prayer, there is the element of devotion and piety. The Goddess and the Great God are presented with martial heroism engaged in battle against the demons. And at the same time, there is the imagery of a young lady discharging darts of loving glances in the case of the Goddess, which is the first verse, and there is the imagery of a youthful lover attempting to secure the company of damsels in the case of the fire emitted by the arrows of the Great God. Heroism and love are the two sides of a single factor in the world, and to a poet there is nothing irreconcilable in the two. This forms the introduction to the love lyric. Emotional effects in a hero and a heroine in separation and the efforts of the companions to bring the two together when there are factors like jealousy and suspicion standing in the way of their union, form the subject matter of the various verses. Even here little is said expressly in words; everything is brought out through the force of suggestion contained in the language when handled by a poet. Thus there is absolutely no colour of what may be called the commonplace or the vulgar in the descriptions of love.

This Century of Lyrics, the *Amaru Śataka*, has been always recognised as the best specimen of love poetry in Sanskrit and all writers on literary criticism cite from this lyric to exemplify various features of a good poem. There have been attempts to imitate this poem; many of them are weak and unsuccessful and none has been able to reach up to the level of this lyric in the matter of beauty of language, the presentation of situations and emotional states through the suggestive power of the language without open expression, and the variety of situations presented in spite of the limited scope of the theme. The lyric gives us a hundred pictures and each picture has an individuality and a beauty of its own.

(v) NĪTI

Nīti means conduct. How to conduct oneself in the civic life of a nation—this is a subject on which much has been written in Sanskrit. It is not a series of sermons by a priest. The teachings are given in good poetry, and poetry is the only path through which a teacher can get at the people in India. There is a great poet named Bhartṛhari who has written three Centuries of lyrics each on "Conduct", "Love" and "Renunciation". The Second Century on love is more or less on the model of the Century on Love by Amaru. Although in the beginning he keeps up a high standard of poetic excellence, he does not seem to have that stamina that is needed to continue in the same strain; gradually the poet falls down to what are commonplace and there is also a little of monotony in the imagery.

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I have introduced Bhartṛhari as the author of the Century of Poems on "Conduct", in which field he is superb.

Little is known about his personality and his date. There is a great grammarian by the same name; but it is not at all certain whether the two are identical. A famous Chinese traveller named I-tsing who came to India in the seventh century A.D. speaks of Bhartṛhari and his work on grammar; according to his accounts, Bhartṛhari must have lived in the first half of that century. But there are evidences to show that the grammarian Bhartṛhari is a few centuries earlier. Doubts have been raised on the question whether the Centuries have been composed as a unitary poem like the *Amaru Śataka* or whether it is only a collection of verses having a more or less related theme.

Bhartṛhari's Centuries on Conduct (*Nīti*) and on Renunciation (*Vairāgya*=cessation of desires) are masterpieces in the field. They have been very popular also in the country, especially the Century on Conduct in which we find good poetry and practical wisdom. There are various beautiful imageries and figures of speech in the poems. There is lucidity and simplicity in language, there is also music and rhythm in style. In his Century on Renunciation, there is presented the littleness and hollowness of worldly life and a glorification of the Higher Life in the Spirit. This is in contrast to the presentation of the seriousness and value of life presented in his Century on Conduct. There is active life and there is also a life in retirement free from the buzzle and sufferings in the world. Both sides are presented in high-class poetry.

More or less on the same line is the work called the *Bhāminīvilāsa* of Jagannātha Paṇḍita, a rather recent writer. He is a poet of great interest and importance. He lived in the court of Shah Jahan, the Moghul Emperor at Delhi; the Emperor had a son named Dara Shukoh who was a great Sanskrit scholar and a friend of Jagannātha Paṇḍita. The latter has written a poem about the former, called the *Jagadābharaṇa*, describing the glories in his court. The *Bhāminīvilāsa* is in four sections dealing with *Anyokti*, *Śṛṅgāra*, *Karuṇa* and *Śānta*. In the *Anyokti* section there is given something of the nature of a teaching when something else is what is expressly stated. In *Śṛṅgāra*, there is love dealt with. Here it must be said that the treatment of love is really beautiful. *Karuṇa* deals with the emotions of pity and remorse, and *Śānta* deals with serenity and peace in renunciation.

There are some poems that are known as *Anyāpadeśa*, which have a bearing on Conduct. Something is expressly stated and

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something else is meant to be conveyed; this is the nature of this sort of poetry. It is a poetic way of presenting the principles of good conduct in civic life. There is a rich collection of such poems by different poets. They all show the great ability of the poets to present certain ideas relating to moral precepts in beautiful language and with some appealing imagery. The facts of Nature are introduced in plenty in such types of poetry to illustrate the moral principles in life.

(vi) COMPLEX POETRY

It has already been said that the poets were resorting to artificialities in handling the language in poetry, like long compounds that can be split up in two different ways, giving two different meanings. This device has been developed into a very intricate system of complicated art in later times. One such system is to select the words forming a verse in such a way that the letters can be arranged in some definite shapes like that of a lotus or a chariot or a wheel. This has been introduced into the Grand Epics even from rather early stages. The same sound repeats at certain definite intervals so that when the letters are written in columns that together form a lotus or a wheel or a chariot, the poem can read regularly in the order in which the letters are arranged in that shape.

Another development is to select the sounds in such a way that the same verse can be read from the beginning to the end or from the end back to the beginning. Sometimes the second half is the first half read backwards. Sometimes the same verse read from the beginning to the end and from the end back to the beginning give two separate verses. There is still another way in which the same verse can be read with different divisions of the compound words to give two sets of themes with the same system of sounds. There are poems in which this device is developed into a very incredible complexity so that three, four and even five stories are narrated with the same verse divided in different ways in splitting up the compounds, or in splitting up a sentence into words. There is a class of poetry in which there is a continuity of alliteration known as *Yamaka*, where three or more syllables are repeated. One cannot say whether such types can be brought within a scheme of poetic art.

(vii) ANTHOLOGIES

Till now we have been considering the works of individual poets. From ancient times, poets and scholars and literary critics have been studying the outputs of poets, evaluating them and classifying them.

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In the case of many, there is a preference to particular passages found in some authors, and literary critics were citing such pieces as examples for certain aspects of literary criticism. Practically most of the works on literary criticism are anthologies containing select pieces from the best of poets. But many scholars and poets selected from the works of other poets such pieces which made a special appeal to them and considered them as of special value worthy of preservation in preference to the other parts of such works, and they made collections of such pieces into special books. All cannot read all the works of all the poets and so there was an occasion to make such selections and collections. The new literature consisting of such collections of select pieces from the great poets form the pattern called the anthology. There are many such collections in Sanskrit.

Apart from the literary value of such collections there is also a historical value attached to them. Many works of many poets and all works of some poets are lost to us. Their names and some pieces from them as specimens are preserved in such anthologies. We see such passages in anthologies and we do not see them in the available works of a poet; then we conclude that the poet has contributed more works. There are some poets whose names are known only from such collections. If pieces from a work are included in such a collection, that shows that in the estimation of the person who made the collection such pieces are specially worthy to be brought to the notice of the general readers who may not be able to read them in the original without such a selection and also to be specially preserved for posterity in preference to many other pieces. There are anthologies and selections and digests of readable matter in plenty at present. The position is that the output is far more than what the ordinary reader can have access to, and unless there are such selections by those who can choose between what is worthy of special attention at the hands of the general readers and what may not be of that same value, the general readers may miss many and may spend their time in matters which could have been omitted. The anthologies show that at that time the output was far more than what has been preserved for us, what could be deduced as such total output from what are preserved for us. Besides many a gem that has been preserved in such anthologies, they enable us to have a truer evaluation of the total wealth and the individual pieces produced at that time.

Such anthologies go back to a fairly early date in the history of Sanskrit literature. The earliest is what has been published under the title of *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya* in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, which contains a collection (*Samuccaya*) of the words (*Vacana*) of great poets (*Kavīndra*). No poet from whom the

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collection is made is later than 1000 A.D. *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (Nectar to the Ears in the form of Good Sayings) is a collection made by one Śrīdharadāsa in the employ of Lakṣmaṇasena, king of Bengal, in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. There are about 450 poets from whom selections have been made in this collection. Jalhana of the thirteenth century made a collection called *Subhāṣitamuktāvali* (the Pearl Necklace of Good Sayings). The *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (the Path of Śārṅgadhara) is one of the biggest of such collections, containing about 4500 verses and is by Śārṅgadhara. Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* (Series of Good Sayings) is another big collection with about 3500 verses from about 350 poets. Śrīvara's collection of the same name belongs to the fifteenth century. It is not possible to give anything more than the names of such works. Their plan is more or less the same; the verses are collected under different titles like love, good conduct, wealth, liberality and fate. There is no literature in the whole world that has such a wealth of anthology as Sanskrit.

(viii) HISTORICAL POEMS

There is nothing that can be called history in Sanskrit literature. It is not because the people had no historical perspective. Even from the Vedic times, they had been preserving the lists of kings and of teachers, and the *Upaniṣads* too contain such lists of teachers. Historical events are preserved in literature and also sometimes immortalised in poetry. People knew that the world had been going on for a long time and that it will continue so. They regarded the whole of the universe as a unit. It is impossible that they did not attach any value to the relation of facts on the time axis. There are two facts in history. One is the actual event and the other is the relation of events to the life of the people, and such a relation can be presented only if they are fitted into the life problems. It is in poetry that we find the presentation of the problems of life. So historical events are presented in the form of poetry. To say that Indians did not write any history but only poetry based on historical events has no more value as a criticism than to say that people lived in beautiful houses than under heaps of stones and timber without any fashioning. The *Ṛgveda* itself contains records of many historical events, about kings and peoples and wars, but all in poetry and in the form of poetry. If there was no Herodotus in India, it is because India did not have any conqueror either, like the conquerors of other countries. It is the conquerors that want to have their deeds recorded as history in inscriptions and in writings of a prosaic nature. It is not because Indians did not have any problems that there was no history; it is because their life was not

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pressed down by the ambitions of politicians and exploiters, and by kings and conquerors. India had only the problem of life for man, and such problems are presented in poetry.

There are *Mahā Kāvyas* (Grand Epics), there are dramas, and there are prose works where the theme is taken from history. In Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra,* the hero is a really historical person. So is the *Harṣacarita* in prose by Bāṇa. In the dramas of Bhāsa and of King Harṣa, about Udayana, the hero is a semi-historical legendary person. Many more dramas and prose works and Grand Epics have been written with historical persons and historical events as themes.

From very early times, there have been inscriptions engraved on rock recording some important events. It may be a victory by a great king, it may be the building of a temple. The inscriptions are in the form of beautiful literature. They are not dry records; they are all records of events presented in the form of beautiful poetry, though the form may be prose or metrical. They go back to even the early centuries of the Christian Era, like the inscriptions of Rudradāman. Such inscriptions are poetry of the highest order. The inscriptions in the Mandasor temple by Vatsabhaṭṭi form another type of high-class poetry in this pattern of literature. Such inscriptions are found in Cambodia also, to the east of India, which too go back to rather early centuries after Christ. All of them must be brought under historical poetry.

There is one large work which is meant as history, presented in the form of poetry. That is the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Full of the Waves of Kings). It is a history of Kāshmir, starting from the earliest times beginning with materials that go into mythology. It has a semblance to the First Book of the *Mahābhārata* where is narrated the history of the kings who preceded the heroes of the *Itihāsa* in that dynasty. It has also some similarity in plan and execution with the *Shah Nameh* of Firdousi in Persian. The poet is Kalhaṇa. He had historical accounts before him and he had also records about historical persons and historical events. He had examined and scrutinised all such material and he wrote his own history. It is not unlikely that Kalhaṇa had known, at least heard of, Firdousi's work. He came some time after Firdousi, and at that time, there had been close relation between India and Persia.

Like Firdousi, Kalhaṇa also starts with mythology and at a later stage he comes to real history. He was not writing a poem on a historical theme; he was writing history and he was adopting the poetic style in it. So the poetic style is subordinate to the historical narrations and descriptions. There are various events and

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various situations that find a place in the poem. The narration is brisk and straightforward. The language is just the simple style of narration. But Kalhaṇa does not fail to give colour to many of his descriptions and narrations, so that the work is really a poem also, besides being a narration of historical events and description of historical persons and historical situations. There are characters vividly portrayed, with life and action, with feelings and reaction to the environments. Art becomes realistic with historical facts and history becomes beautiful with poetry.

Kalhaṇa lived in the twelfth century A.D. He belonged to the aristocracy by birth; his father was a faithful employee of King Harṣa of Kāshmir. The king died and the minister lived for a long time after this event. The son was born too late to take up the position of the father; but he had a better vocation for which we owe him a deep debt of gratitude. There were some historians prior to him; he mentions some of them and even criticises some of them. He had also some authors of historical poems prior to him; Harṣa's life written by Bāṇa is the best specimen of a historical work in prose. The *Kappaṇābhyudaya* of Śivasvāmin has already been mentioned as a historical poem in the chapter on Grand Epics (*Mahā-Kāvya*). It has a Jain touch. There is another poem of that type called the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* (the history of Navasāhasāṅka) by Padmagupta. It does not deserve a position as a historical poem in so far as the events mentioned there are only of a legendary nature, though a historical king is intended to be alluded to in the poem.

Perhaps the best among the historical poems prior to Kalhaṇa was the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (the History of Lord Vikramāṅka). Bilhaṇa is a great poet with a halo of romance around him. He was a Kāshmiri by birth, and his name is definitely Kāshmiri. He went to the south as many had done, and became a favourite poet and friend of a great king of South India of the Chalukya dynasty. He had visited many famous places during his migration. He must have lived in the second and third quarters of the eleventh century. He has written small poems and also dramas besides the historical poem. His poem is of the usual type of a Grand Epic. There are beautiful descriptions and presentations of emotions. Pathos and joy, battles and victories, army and young lovers, forests and mountains and rivers, cities and the country parts, kings and peasants, scholars and common people, all sorts of characters and scenes and situations are introduced into the poem with masterly skill. The style is natural and simple. There is a suitable element of alliterations and play on words, but he never overdoes such artificialities. The language is lucid and chaste.

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There have been many poems of that nature after Bilhaṇa. But no work keeps up the style and method and standard of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as a historical poem. This is a historical poem, the emphasis being on the former part, while all other poems with historical themes are poetry first and the historical side is only an accident, some theme being necessary for poetry and a historical theme being ready at hand and good for the purpose.

(ix) FABLES AND TALES

Fables and tales form an important part of the literature in Sanskrit and the type goes back to a very early stage in the history of Sanskrit literature. The Vedic literature is full of tales about men and gods and also about animals and birds. The Buddhistic literature is very rich in this sort of composition. The great *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* contain most of the tales and fables. But tales and fables developed into a separate category of literary type at a later stage. We do not know when tales were written as independent works. They must have been current even in the time of the *Ṛgveda*, since there are indications of, and allusions to, such tales in the Ṛgvedic poetry; no one will make such an allusion unless the tales were well known to the people. It is said that such tales and fables migrated from India to the West.

The earliest work of the nature of a collection of tales must have been the *Bṛhat-Kathā* (the Great Story Book) of Guṇāḍhya. It must have been written in the early centuries of the Christian Era. There is a story current that there was a king named Sātavāhana who was not very proficient in grammar, and that during a water-sport, the queens made fun of him on account of his ignorance. He decided to learn grammar in a short time and asked his favourite scholar named Guṇāḍhya to teach him grammar in a very short time. The scholar said that it would be impossible and the king, being displeased, sent him away. Another scholar taught him the whole of grammar in a short time by writing a new work on grammar now available as the *Kātantra*. Guṇāḍhya wandered about in the forest and he began to narrate the tales in such beautiful language that even the birds and beasts gave up their food. There was no flesh in their bodies when the king's people went and killed them in the jungles and brought them to the palace kitchen. When the king knew of the cause of scarcity for meat, he sent for the poet who was singing those songs of tales, and it was found to be Guṇāḍhya himself. He was called back. Only a small part of what he had actually composed was preserved even at that time, and now the whole work has been lost for a long time. That work must have

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been a storehouse of tales about heroes and kings and gods and demigods and also about animals and birds. The work was in a Prākrit language and not in Sanskrit. Still, the Sanskrit works on tales go back on that work, and as such they are included in this history.

There are two collections in which the tales in Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* are preserved and they are the *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī* (Flower Bunches of Great Tales) by Kṣemendra and the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* (the Ocean for the Rivers of Tales) by Somadeva. Both are very popular now and form the main source to know the contents of the original *Bṛhat-kathā* by Guṇāḍhya. There is also a third version named *Bṛhat-kathā-śloka-saṅgraha* (Abridgment in Verses of the Great Stories). We do not know who among them, if any, had direct access to the original and who gives an accurate summary of the original.

Kṣemendra's *Mañjarī* must be a faithful summary of the original. He has also written the summary of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and we may conclude that the summary of the *Bṛhatkathā* must be as faithful to the original as the summaries of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are to their respective originals. The work is in eighteen Books called *Lambakas,* and may be that the original too was in eighteen Books. Kṣemendra gives an introduction to the work narrating the circumstances under which Guṇāḍhya wrote the original book. Kṣemendra belongs to the first half of the eleventh century. He is not at all the earliest writer of a summary of the work. But among the writers who have given the summary, he is the best known. He is a Kāshmiri and a writer on many subjects. One of the most interesting tales in the collection relates to Udayana, the great romantic hero of ancient India, about whom there are many dramas.

The *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* is another abridgment of the *Bṛhat-kathā;* it is by Someśvara who too is a Kāshmiri. He must have lived in the second half of the eleventh century. The work is divided into Books, eighteen in number, with subdivisions. The order of the stories adopted here is different from what is found in Kṣemendra's abridgment after the fifth Book. His version is more elaborate than that of Kṣemendra and as such the stories are much more interesting here than in the version of Kṣemendra. The arrangement too is better and it seems that his freedom in re-arranging the stories in his own way is indicated by a verse in the beginning which says that he has to the best of his abilities carried out the maintenance of propriety and that the parts of the poem have been put together without any harm done to the beauty

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of the stories. The work was written for the enjoyment of a princess named Sūryamatī.

The earliest version of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* must have been the *Śloka-saṅgraha* (Abridgment in Verses) of the *Bṛhatkathā* by Buddhasvāmin. The whole work has not been found out. Only twenty-eight chapters have been preserved for us; that takes us only to a small part of the whole work, as is found from the tales included in this part in comparison with the other two abridgments. Perhaps the beginning portion too is now missing, though one cannot be sure on this point. This abridgment must have been earlier than 1000 A.D. The really valuable condensations are by Kṣemendra and Somadeva in their *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and *Kathāsaritsāgara.*

Specimens of the tales found in these collections are already noted in dramas and prose romances. The story of Udayana, the story of the *Kādambarī* and the story in the *Daśakumāracarita* are also found in these collections. The collections contain more; the fables found in other collections and some fairy tales are also included in these collections known as the *Bṛhatkathā* collection with its abridged versions. Heroic kings, love, the supernatural world, the world and the men in it consisting of characters found in the various strata of social organisation with their various avocations, a large number of situations—all such factors that make a story interesting, are found in the stories of this collection, and they are found in other patterns also. For this reason, no separate analysis of the contents of the collection is given here.

The *Vetālapañcaviṁśati* is another collection of twenty-five tales narrated to a king by a *Vetāla* or goblin, a variety of Evil Spirit. An ascetic used to present a king with a fruit annually and it was found that the fruit contained a gem. To show his gratitude, the king agreed to bring down a dead body that was hanging down from a tree in a burial ground; when the king ascended the tree, it was found that a *Vetāla,* an Evil Spirit, had taken possession of the body. The king was slightly frightened, and yet he persisted in his effort. Then the *Vetāla* narrated a story ending with a question in the form of a verse; and story follows story. In the end, the dead body falls off from the tree, returning to its original condition of a person. There is a small sequel in the form of the revelation that the ascetic who was giving the king a fruit meant to kill him by asking him to do such a mission, and in a clever way, the king managed to chop off the head of the ascetic. The really interesting portion relates to the tales. The tales are all found in the collections of Kṣemendra and Somadeva. But the circumstances under which

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the tales were narrated and the way in which the tales are narrated give an originality to them and also a special interest. There are a few works of this name, but the version of *Śivadāsa* is the most popular.

The *Śuka-saptati* (the Seventy Tales of a Parrot) is another interesting collection of stories in Sanskrit. It is by Cintāmaṇi Bhaṭṭa; there are two other recensions also. A merchant named Haradatta had a son named Madanasena, who was indolent and spent his whole time in the company of his young wife. The merchant was able to secure a crow and a parrot, very wise beings, really Gandharvas (a kind of demi-gods). Through their association, the young man changed his ways. He was one day sent out on a mission and then he entrusted his young wife to the care of the two birds. When the absence was becoming unbearably long, the young lady was thinking of finding enjoyment in the company of others, since she had occasions to meet with young ladies who led an irresponsible life. The crow objected but was silenced with a threat of death. The parrot was wiser and permitted her to go at night provided that she knew how to get out of a tight corner if she found herself in such a position in her adventure, which was quite possible as in the case of a certain lady, which was stated in a verse; then the young lady desired to hear the whole story and the parrot kept her at home by narrating the story till day-break. This continued day after day till the husband returned. There are seventy stories like this.

Another interesting collection is called the *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśika* (Thirty-two Tales relating to the Throne). There was a throne of the great emperor named Vikramāditya of old. It got buried under earth in course of time. Later, when a shepherd boy was following the sheep in the meadows, at a certain point, he began to talk like an elderly person of great wisdom. The matter was reported to King Bhoja who got the place dug out, and he found out the throne. When King Bhoja wanted to ascend the throne, one of the statues of young ladies on the edge of the throne started narrating a tale of the great Vikramāditya, and at the end of each story each statue flew off; there were thirty-two statues and there are the same number of stories narrated.

There are various collections of such stories, some of them relating to the great Emperor Vikramāditya. In each collection there is an originality in the way in which the stories are introduced and also in the way in which the stories are narrated; there is also the originality in the unity worked out for the tales brought together

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in the collection. The works of Kṣemendra and Somadeva are in the form of verses while the other stories are in prose with occasional metrical passages. Many of them have only an artistic value while some have also a direct didactic purpose. Every art has a value as teaching some morals; the difference is that what is didactic teaches from outside while art teaches from within the man himself. In most of the cases there is a balance between the two aspects. There is no tale included in the above collection that does not have an artistic value. There are many that do not have a manifest didactic colour.

Besides what are called tales with a hero, there are also many fables in which animals and birds play their part as characters. This type of literature also goes to the earliest times in the history of Sanskrit literature. Buddhistic literature abounds in such fables. The most important collection of fables is called the *Pañca-tantra* (the Five Policies). It was written in the form of instruction given by a scholar named Viṣnuśarman to the princes so that they may become proficient in the art of diplomacy and politics with its policies in a very short time. The five principles included in the work are: (1) Separation of alliance in the enemy rank, (2) Securing allies, (3) War and Peace, (4) Loss of what is gained and (5) Doing things without fore-thought. The book was rendered into Pahlavi language, the language of Persia before the Muslim conquest. The translation was done by Dr. Burzooye under the orders of the Sassanian king of Persia named Anushirvan early in the Christian Era. There was an Arabic and a Syriac rendering and also a Persian rendering; the original Pahlavi translation is not now available. The translation was called *Kalileh Damaneh*, from the names of two jackals that appear in the First Book of the five Books into which the work is divided. The original names are Karaṭaka and Damanaka, which are altered into Pahlavi forms.

The *Pañcatantra* is essentially a fable book. The stories are also found in the abridgments of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* by Kṣemendra and by Somadeva and also in the *Mahābharata*. Here also the interest is more in the presentation, in the setting in which the stories are introduced and the way in which the stories are narrated. The work is in prose, with occasional verses especially for giving some maxims. The prose is simple and lucid, though it must be confessed that the language is not particularly polished. It does not have that flow and that cadence which we find in the prose of Daṇḍin in his *Daśakumāracarita*. But it is not at all rugged and faltering. It is good prose but not elegant literary prose. The work may originally have been South Indian, since the book was

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written for the instruction of the sons of a Southern king, King Amaraśakti of Mahilāropya. There are different versions of it and there are also similar works with names not much different from it, by others.

The construction of the stories is very interesting. There are narrations of tales within narration of other tales, one tale leading on to another one. There is a complete unity not merely on account of the occasion for starting the work but also in the way in which the stories are related to one another; there is a unity on account of such occasion and there is also a unity on account of the inter-relation of the various stories. Each story appearing in the various books has its own individuality, and each collection too has its own individuality. Each book is an artistic whole. The material is in itself beautiful and the workmanship is excellent as high-class art, in all the collections.

Just as in the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, there had been different presentations in an abridged form, there has been different versions produced at different times in the case of the *Pañcatantra* also. One of them is called the *Tantrākhyāyikā* (Principles in Tales), i.e., the principles relating to a successful life. For this there has been two recensions, one shorter and the other longer. It is supposed to be a contribution by a Jain and may be of about 1000 A.D. Another recension is by Pūrnabhadra, a Jain monk; this version is called *Pañcākhyānaka* (Five Stories). There is also another version, known as *Pañcākhyānoddhāra* (Selections from Pañcākhyāna, which is the work noted above).

The *Hitopadeśa* (Instruction in What is Beneficial) is another independent version of the *Pañcatantra* and is as popular as the *Pañcatantra* itself, a position which no other version has been able to secure. It is supposed to be a Bengali version. The writer of the work is Nārāyaṇa. He has altered the subjects for the four Books into which, as distinct from the five of the *Pañcatantra*, he has divided the work. The four Books have the subjects, (1) Winning Allies, (2) Break up of the Alliance of the Enemies, (3) War and Peace and (4) a new Book, containing stories found in other parts of the *Pañcatantra*. There are also many original stories in the *Hitopadeśa*, not found elsewhere. The style is more elegant and polished in the *Hitopadeśa* than in the *Pañcatantra*. This work is a simpler recast of the *Pañcatantra*. It is one of the most popular among the beginners of Sanskrit language, and originally it was meant both to give instruction in the principles governing a successful life and to aid the study of Sanskrit for a beginner.

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X. MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

(a) ART-THOUGHT CONCORD

The term "literature" has a two-fold application. It means "literary art", and in this sense the application is of a limited nature; it also means "record in language", and in this sense the application is very wide. In the previous chapters, the term was generally used in the limited sense; but when one deals with a literature one cannot ignore the wider application of the term. In the actual state of affairs which a writer of history has to take note, there is no hard and fast demarcation between the two fields denoted by the two uses of the term. Of course, all know that the limited sense is included in the wider sense. Between this limited field that is included in the other and the wider sense that includes the other the border line is not at all clear, and even if some border line can be fixed, one cannot be detached from the other; this is especially the case with Sanskrit.

In literatures other than Sanskrit, some sort of demarcation between literary art and language records is possible on the basis of the epochs within the history of the literature included in the language. Thus, take one of the best specimens of ancient literature, Greek. When there was Homer and Sophacles and Euripides, there was neither a Plato nor an Aristotle nor an Archimedes nor a Pythagoras. In Greek there was nothing that can be called a high-class religious literature. When Plato and Aristotle and others appeared, no more could Sophacles and Euripides return to the field. Practically no literature in the world outside the Sanskrit language shows such a simultaneous growth of the various phases of intellect and emotions as is found in Sanskrit. Religion, philosophy, sciences, literature, various kinds of practical arts—all grew up together as in a well-planned and well-kept orchard. Nothing was a hindrance to the other among them; each nourished the other. May be, in Greek there is a literary touch in works relating to philosophy, as in the case of Plato; but there is no literary art that contains the deep philosophy of Plato. The case is quite different in Sanskrit. There is a literary art of the highest order with a good admixture of sciences and philosophy like the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, the Grand Epic of Śrī Harṣa, in Sanskrit, and there are also scientific works like the medical book known as the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa which can stand comparison with any poetry for literary excellence; there are also scientific and philo-

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sophical works like the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali in grammar and the *Śābarabhāṣya* in *Mīmāṁsā* and the *Kusumāñjali* in *Nyāya* which can outbeat any prose work within the limited field of literary art. This simultaneous growth of art and thought and this combination of art in thought and thought in art, is something that is unique in Sanskrit. Indian art cannot be appreciated except with its setting in the form of thought, which in its turn loses its value without the lustre of art in it. In making a survey of Sanskrit literature no aspect of the record in Sanskrit language can be ignored, for the above reason.

(b) VEDIC WORKS

The Original Text of the *Vedas*, called the *Mantras*, the Commentary Parts called the *Brāhmaṇas* for the ritualism and the *Upaniṣads* for the philosophy side, and some of the texts relating to the study of the *Vedas* as auxiliaries, have all been commented upon by later writers; there are references to earlier commentators in the commentaries of the later commentators that are available, and this shows that there has always been an intense activity in the matter of interpreting the *Vedas* and of understanding them in a continuous way from the very beginning. There was no blind following of ancient traditions; they scrutinised everything in the light of the changes in this dynamic world and they tried to alter and adapt what was old to suit the changing conditions.

Sometimes the subject matter in a work is expanded, revised, supplemented or abridged in new books instead of an author writing a commentary. This has been especially the case in the matter of works relating to the various indices and the works relating to the various rituals. Some of them are in the form of verses. Various kinds of new indices on points not included in the original indices like those of authors and metres and deities, have been prepared later, especially on points relating to phonetics. This has special reference to the way in which the verses and passages in the *Mantra* or original text are split up into separate words. Words coming under different categories in this process are classified together and given in the form of lists. New works relating to rituals have a bearing on the rituals performed at home or in public places, what are dealt with in the *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya Sūtras* being included in the texts auxiliary to the study of the *Vedas* (what are called *Vedāṅgas*). Although the Vedic literature had a halt about the 6th century B.C., contribution of works relating to the Vedic lore continued without a break, in different forms.

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(c) GRAMMAR

Very few nations have thought about the language which they had been speaking, though language is a feature which primarily distinguishes man from animals. They spoke the language and they tried to make one another understood mutually. There ended their consideration for language. But the Greeks had paid some attention to understand what this language is by means of which men generally understand one another and also by which men understand things in the world. The work of India and the achievements of India in this field are wonderful. What is it that strikes on our ears, what is it that creates a reaction on the mind, what is it that through such a reaction brings to our mind certain pictures of external objects? Light reacts on our eyes and we get the impression of certain objects in the external world. Similarly there is something in the external world which strikes our ears and reacts on our minds in the form of producing some notions about the external objects. Their investigation into the problem took two directions, one being theoretical and the other practical.

According to the ancient Indian grammarians, the words that we hear are as much external facts as the paper on which we write the words. There is some Absolute Stage in this universe, which under conditions is transformed into the audible sounds and the objects represented by the sounds. We talk in sentences; even when we utter only a single word it is really a sentence. What we conventionally call a word has not got any meaning at all just as in a word the separate sounds forming that word have no meaning relative to any part of the total meaning of the word. The division of the language into words and stems and suffixes is purely conventional, without any actual reality behind it. Such must have been the doctrine about language developed in the early times, as Yāska in his *Nirukta* mentions the doctrine. In a sentence like "The man goes", the element "man" has the meaning of "the man as the subject of the act of going", and the element "goes" has the meaning "the act of going as done by the man". Later on other theories also were developed and accepted by other schools of thought. Words have a meaning and words combine to give the sentence meaning. Words alone have a meaning, and the meaning of the sentence is not directly expressed by the assemblage of words, but is understood through a secondary signification. Nouns are derived always from a root; nouns are generally, not always, derived from roots. Suffixes and prefixes have no meaning of their own; they have a meaning of their own. No sentence gives a meaning unless there is an ultimate relation to a command; a mere statement in itself has no meaning. There

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are no synonyms. Such are some of the views developed about the nature of language on the theoretical side.

There is the practical side of analysing the languages in use into different categories as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and indeclinables. Each has its sub-division. Words have to be analysed into parts. In the combination of parts to build up a word and in the combination of words to build up a sentence, sounds in juxtaposition undergo changes in the form of assimilation and dissimilation, doubling, forming a single sound, dropping, lengthening or shortening and so on. Words have to conform to certain specific order in a sentence and words have also to be related to some specific declensional forms of other words. There is the phenomenon called metre. Thus facts relating to phonetics, declensions, syntax and prosody were studied and an immense science was built up, unsurpassed and even unequalled by any other nation.

The study of these facts in its various aspects must have been very old; but all such facts were brought together into a single system of grammar by Pāṇini, whose date is not known. All are agreed that he cannot be later than about 500 B.C. Perhaps he is much earlier. He wrote his work in eight chapters, each chapter being divided into four quarters. He adopted the language form known as the *Sūtras*, short prose passages expressing the idea in the briefest form possible even without a verb to complete a sentence form. It is said in later times that a grammarian takes joy in saving a syllable as much as a man takes joy in the birth of a son. This is exaggeration; yet the brevity in his passages is something wonderful; he is not the author of this language form, but it is he who perfected the form.

He wrote the grammar for the language spoken in his time, which had changed considerably from the language of the *Vedas*, and so he gave the parallel Vedic forms when there are differences in the forms. Along with his short passages in which he has given the rules of grammar, he must have given elaborate explanations also. As time went on, the language underwent further changes. There might also have been regional dialectical variations not noticed by Pāṇini. Instead of writing a new grammar, a scholar named Kātyāyana, otherwise known also as Vararuci, explained the text of Pāṇini in his own way, criticising the original passages and altering them and adding to them. At a still later stage another great scholar named Patañjali took up both the original work of Pāṇini and its revisions and criticisms by Kātyāyana and gave his own interpretation of the original text of Pāṇini so that many of the revisions of

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Kātyāyana could be dispensed with. In this connection, he gives the revised passages suggested by Kātyāyana; this is the only source from which we can know what the revisions of Kātyāyana are, his own work being lost to us. In this way, the original work of Pāṇini, its revision by Kātyāyana called the *Vārtika*, and the interpretation by Patañjali known as the *Mahā-bhāṣya* (the Great Commentary) form the basic text at present for Sanskrit grammar. Kātyāyana is supposed to have lived about 300 B.C. and Patañjali about 180 B.C. Patañjali mentions the invasion of Sāketa by Yavana, the Greek, and this is supposed to be a reference to the invasion of Menander as a contemporary event.

The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali is not a dry book on grammar giving rules to distinguish correct language from language that is not permissible. It is a monumental work of great literary importance. In point of style he continues the prose style of the *Brāhmaṇas* and of the *Nirukta* of Yāska. But he has perfected it. Simple words, very brief and crisp sentences full of vigour, questions and retorts, statement of a point in a short sentence and its elaboration later, a sort of conversational ease—the book takes the form of a discourse conducted for an assembly of attentive listeners by a great scholar, thus giving a human touch to the work; it is not a grim treatment of a subject from a gloomy, isolated study room. It is full of humour also. It is further a work of encyclopaedic value, citing examples from all sorts of subjects that can be thought of in support of his arguments. He also cites examples for usages from a large number of literary works that must have been available to him. All the rules of interpreting a text and all the views regarding the philosophy of grammar are explained in the work. Although we call Pāṇini the founder of the system of grammar in Sanskrit, Patañjali is the last word in the matter of grammar in Sanskrit; the authority is not Pāṇini, but Pāṇini as interpreted by Patañjali in the light of the revisions of Kātyāyana.

Patañjali's book is a hard nut to crack, and for the ordinary reader something simpler is wanted; further the language also was changing. So a new, simpler interpretation appeared in the work of Vāmana called the *Kāśikā*. It had many commentaries and the best and the most popular are the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi and the *Padamañjari* of Haradatta. In point of literary style, the second is one of the classics in Sanskrit prose, with its rather majestic style. The former is the more popular and in matters of practical grammar, it is widely utilised. But the latter is more scholarly, and in matters of interpretation, in understanding the text of Patañjali, the latter is the real authority.

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Pāṇini did not write his grammar strictly in the order of the various headings within the subject like phonology, declensions and derivations of words, and syntax, with their respective sub-headings. There is a general division into headings like this, but there is a lot of intermixing of points. So the whole text was re-arranged following strictly the order of the subject-headings, but with considerable abridgments, by Dharmakīrti in his work called the *Rūpāvatāra* and this course was followed up by Rāmacandra in his *Prakriyākaumudi*; the latter took considerable liberty in interpreting the original text of Pāṇini to suit the needs of a changing language.

It was Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita who took up the order of the subject-headings adopted by Dharmakīrti and Rāmacandra and who at the same time tried to adhere strictly to the orthodox method of interpretation found in Patañjali. His work called the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* became the classical text for the study of Paṇini, and this is the standard text after Patañjali. He explained his position in a commentary on it called the *Prauḍha-manoramā* which was again commented upon by his grand-son Hari Dīkṣita in his *Śabdaratna*. The disciple of this Hari Dīkṣita, the great Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, wrote another commentary on the original interpretation of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his own commentary thereon called the *Śabdenduśekhara*. There is an independent interpretation of Pāṇini, exactly along the lines followed by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, but without any obligation to the latter, by Nārāyaṇa and the work is called the *Prakriyā-sarvasva*. In point of literary merit, no work can beat this. It is full of poetry; even his prose is sweeter than poetry. He too is full of humour, and in point of the universality of references, it deserves a place by the side of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. This is, moreover, a full digest of all works on and related to grammar known in his time.

The *Mahābhāṣya* has been commented upon by a later grammarian called Kaiyaṭa and this commentary was again interpreted by the great scholar Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa who has written the commentary on the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. Here it must be noted that no commentary is an explanation of the text of an original. In a commentary, the writer takes the points raised in the original and gives his own interpretation, discussing the points thoroughly, criticising it, revising it and elaborating it. When the original text does not satisfy the needs of the changing times, which is a better course? Is it better to alter the rules every time or is it better to re-interpret the old rules, as far as possible, to satisfy the needs of the changed conditions? A rule is a rule not in itself but as it is interpreted, and there is a possibility of getting the necessary alteration in the rules without changing the words of the original rules; the same words

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can be re-interpreted. That is what is done in all the commentaries. It is not orthodoxy; it is progression without a break.

Besides the commentaries on the original text of Pāṇini, there have been independent texts dealing with Sanskrit grammar. One named *Kātantra* has been referred to in dealing with the story book of Guṇāḍhya called the *Bṛhat-kathā*. There are many more, some small and some as big as the work of Pāṇini. The grammar by Candragomin is a small work while the grammar of King Bhoja of Dhārā, the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa Campū*, is of the same size and of the same model as the grammar of Pāṇini. Side by side with Sanskrit, a colloquial language was also growing; this is what is called the Prākrit language, which had also its dialects. This colloquial language of the home and of the streets and of the villages was introduced into literature in a classical garb, and it was necessary to regularise the use of such colloquialisms in literature, for which grammars of the Prākrit language were also written.

Besides the practical side of grammar, there had been growing a profound philosophical side also within this discipline. The origins of this philosophy are traceable to the earliest literature, and the *Upaniṣads* of a later day are full of it. The *Nirukta* of Yāska alludes to many such theories and Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* elaborates them. Kaiyaṭa in his commentary thereon further expounds them. The philosophy of grammar was separated for treatment by Bhartṛhari who has written a work called the *Vākya-padīya* (Treatment relating to Sentences and Words); the three Centuries on *Nīti* (Conduct), Love and Renunciation by Bhartṛhari has already been mentioned in the chapter on Minor Types. The rules of interpretation of a text is another side which has been developed to a high state of perfection by Patañjali in his *Mahābhaṣya* and this was taken up for separate treatment by Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa in his *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*. He also expounded the various philosophical problems within grammar in his *Vaiyākaraṇa-Siddhānta-Mañjūṣā* (Basket of the Doctrines of Grammar). Nāgeśa's name has been mentioned just above. It will be seen that grammar had developed into one of the most important disciplines among the departments of study in ancient India, which study continued without break.

Prosody is a part of grammar. It deals with a special feature of the language. This science too was developed in India from a very early stage. Even in the *Ṛgveda*, there are the names of the various metres mentioned; we do not know if the terms meant the same as what they meant at a later stage. In the *Ṛgveda* and in the *Atharvaveda*, there had been many patterns of metre, with varying number of syllables in a line and with varying number of lines in a

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verse. At a later stage, the number of lines in a verse became fixed as four, while the variety in the number of syllables in a line continued. These patterns were analysed and examined and classified and defined. Even in metrical patterns with the same number of syllables in a line, there are different classes. For defining the nature of a line, the syllables were grouped, and three syllables formed a unit. It may be of the pattern of all the three syllables being long, or all the syllables being short; it may be a group of two long syllables with a short syllable or a group of two short syllables with a long syllable. Here again the one long syllable or the one short syllable may be in the beginning or in the middle or in the end. In this way the groups of three syllables forming a unit are of eight kinds.

But this does not satisfy the needs of presenting the real cadence of a metrical line. There is the element of cadence in a line in which groups of three syllables do not indicate the beat, the semi-stops within a line and such matters that count much in the matter of the cadence of the line. The definition of a line simply shows the sequence of the short and long syllables within a line and nothing more. Normally each line in a verse is of the same variety. But there are cases in which there is a parity only between the two halves; the first and the third line will be the same and the second and the fourth lines will also be the same, slightly different from the other group. There are cases where two types of lines are indifferently mixed; this is very rare and the most common example is the admixture of lines of eleven syllables in which the first syllable may be either short or long. The number of syllables and the sequence of short and long syllables within a line are fixed.

There is another pattern of metres in which what is fixed is the total quantity in the syllables, and not the number of syllables in the line. Here a long syllable may be replaced by two short syllables, the quantity remaining the same in both in spite of the difference in the number of syllables. Here the feet have a value in determining the cadence of the line, which is determined by the stops after a definite syllabic quantity. The feet are of two long syllables, either or both being capable of replacement by two short syllables. Here there are also defective feet coming within the metrical scheme.

This second pattern does not find a place in the metrical scheme of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. Perhaps they came into Sanskrit from a foreign source, may be from the Dravidian literature. Perhaps in this pattern of metres, the quality of the metre has also been taken note of like the beat of the line with stops, in determining

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the nature of a pattern. In the definition of Vedic metres, it is only the total number of syllables in a verse that determines the nature of a metre, and here also the computations are very defective, the number being occasionally in excess or below the actual number computed. Metres of varying number of lines with varying number of syllables within a line are grouped together into a single pattern on account of the similarity in the matter of the total number of syllables in a verse. There are many independent works relating to metres, both Vedic and Classical, including the two varieties within the classical metres.

In the case of grammar, the thinkers in India had probed into the secrets of language; they had evolved some doctrines relating to the ultimate truth about language and they evolved such doctrines in a way unknown among any other nations in the world either ancient or modern. The mystery behind metre remains a mystery, just like the mystery behind the musical notes, behind the beauty in art, behind the Absolute beyond the phenomena. The science of prosody is just a practical science in Sanskrit. Though there are some mystic statements about metre in the *Ṛgveda,* there has been no effort to probe into the truth behind the various metres, what and why the metrical language has some special powers inherent in it.

(d) LITERARY CRITICISM

India has always been a nation of poets. Poets founded the civilization of India, as distinct from the civilizations of other nations founded and guarded by priests and conquerors. For this reason, the civilization of India lasts while the civilizations of other nations have perished. Poetry deals with eternal truths, and priests and conquerors cannot see beyond the fleeting facts of the phenomenal world. The consequence is that when the builders disappear the building also disappears. The civilization of no other nation rested on the true nature of the world, which true nature is known to poets alone, in so far as no such civilization has been founded and protected by poets. It is only in India that poets started a civilization. It is true that the real nature of the universe is seen also in the visions of those who start religions and of those who propound philosophies. It is only in India that there have been teachers of religions and philosophers who were also poets.

Even from the very beginning, there had been a distinction formulated between the language of the phenomenal world and the language of the poets. It is only the poets who know the full value of language; so far as the common people are concerned three quarters

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of the language lie hidden in the cave and only a fourth part is in use by them. This is not a statement about the vocabulary. It is a statement about the capacity of the language to express. Language can express truth; language expresses aspects of the truth. Such aspects cover only a fourth part. Common people can look and listen; but they cannot see and hear the language. Language exposes the full beauty of its form only to a poet just as a handsome lady exhibits her charms, with beautiful robes, only to her husband. Poets see the beyond, the dark regions, the concealed positions and names within the caves. It is poetry that gives pleasure to the gods. It is poetry that gives strength to the gods to annihilate the demons. It is poetry that gives immortality to man. As a matter of fact, the religion of the *Vedas* can be spoken of as the worship of poetry, worship of beauty.

The poet is not the maker of poetry; he is the clear surface on which the beauty of the world shines in reflection, as any form on a mirror. The poets have only a vision of poetry and do not make that poetry. The poetry has to be recited. It is a system of sound. So the pronunciation and all facts relating to the sound have a great value in poetry, which shall not be changed. The words shall not be changed and the order of the words shall not be changed. There are no synonyms in poetry. Besides developing a rich high-class poetry, the people had also evolved a profound philosophy of literary criticism even in the earliest stage in Sanskrit Literature, namely the *Vedas*.

Various patterns of literature had been developed at that early time. But there is no mention of a drama, though the elements forming a drama, including dialogue, are all there. Yet the earliest available work on literary criticism relates essentially to drama. There was a decline in "the religion of poetry" in the country. Religion became a set of forms, meant only for a particular type of the people, losing thereby its catholicity and universality, which were the elements conspicuous in the religion of the *Vedas*. Art had to be saved when art was betrayed by religion. That was the mission of a great literary critic named Bharata. We do not know his date; he must certainly be later than the rise and growth of Buddhism. We may safely put him to about 300 B.C., may be slightly earlier. He was far earlier than Kālidāsa who knew him as a mythological sage with many legends grown around him. Kālidāsa is most likely soon after 200 B.C.

If religion has its scripture, there must be a new scripture for "the religion of poetry," the religion of art. Bharata's work is that scripture. If the ancient scripture originated in the Creator Himself,

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this new scripture of "the religion of poetry" too originated with the Creator. All the four elements of poetry, action, song and emotions, represented in the four scriptures of religion, are found in this new scripture of poetry-religion also. The only difference is that religion ceased to be for the people and became restricted to those who have sentimental virtuosity, losing its catholicity and its universality, while this new religion is the true religion for humanity, the religion of art. If the new religion is kept within the old sentimental religion, there is a large section of the people who will be opposed to it and it may even be destroyed; so it has to be made known to all, including those who refuse to accept the religion of sentimentality, that this religion is a new religion of a universal nature meant for all, meant for people of all tastes. It is also a practical religion. Moral codes come within the scope of this new religion; but there is also love and hatred and war and death and suffering and all facts of the world presented here in art.

Art has to be presented in an artistic setting. There must be a temple for this art, just as there is the temple for the old religion. The theatre with all its details regarding dimension, shape, construction, relation to the surroundings, decoration, lighting, is fully described. The actors belonged to some "guilds" and they had their own forms of worship, which is not inflicted on the people, which worship is performed behind the curtains. This too is fully described in the text. It is then that the real purpose of art and the real nature of art are taken up. The nature of art is that it has beauty; the purpose of art is to bring out this true nature. Art is art only when there is this manifestation of beauty. Various ingredients have to be brought together, and in this composition a new element is produced and that element is beauty. It is just like delectability (*Āsvādyatā*) in cooking, and so the term for beauty selected by Bharata is the term that denotes delectability (*Rasa*). This *Rasa* is not a feature in any of the ingredients, but is a manifestation through the proper assemblage. Drama is the action of man in the world (*Loka-carita*). Here there must be the man in action, and in such action there must be some object in respect of which the action is undertaken. If it is action in a state of love, there must be the person for whom there is the love. Such action takes place in a particular setting and produces some immediate, some lasting and some momentary feelings and expressions and behaviours. What can be presented in language and by action are only these factors, while in a particular presentation there is also produced the element of enjoyability. The factors producing the enjoyability are classified under the headings of the person to whom

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the activity is directed (*Ālambana-vibhāva*), the settings (*Uddīpana-vibhāva*) and consequential feelings and behaviours (*Anubhāvas*, and *Sāttvika* and *Vyabhicarī Bhāvas*). There are further sub-divisions of the last group.

In the literary specimens available as the basis for Bharata to formulate his theories on dramaturgy, there were eight kinds of situations in which such a beauty was found developed. Two of them were found to be very prominent, and they are Love and Heroism. Love does not mean any set of feelings entertained by a young couple to each other. It is just a glow in a situation, a situation of perfect beauty. In a drama there must be the beauty in action; when the action is reduced to the minimum that is required to manifest the beauty, that is called Love. The term used by Bharata is *Śṛṅgāra* and he explains the term as "what is of the nature of a brilliant glow" (*Ujjvala-veṣātmaka*); it has special reference to costume and general make-up (*Veṣa*). It is on occasions when a couple desires to express love to each other that they put on the best robes, and as a consequence, the term *Śṛṅgāra* became identified with love. When activity becomes very prominent in the situation, the beauty is called Vīra, which is described by Bharata as "of the nature of intense activity". There are other situations in which pity and remorse, or wonder, or humour can become the prominent feature. But such situations appear only as subordinate to the two main varieties of situations, or if they are found prominently they are so found only in the eight minor types of poetry. At a much later stage, a new situation was also added in the art, the situation where peace and calmness and serenity become prominent in the situation. This is perhaps the effect of the intrusion of religion into art, from which Bharata wanted to save art. The situation is called *Śānta*.

The presentation of the activities of the world (*Abhinaya* of the *Loka-carita*) has to be effected through three methods. They relate to dance and other movements of the body and of the limbs and through symbolic positions of fingers etc., and to the expression on the face, what is called *Āṅgika*. The other factor is costume and get-up (*Āharya*), what is artificial. The third relates to language (*Vācika*). The major part of the book relates to these three modes of presentation (*Abhinaya*) of the drama which is the activity of man (*Loka-carita*). In the first chapter Bharata elaborates the difference between sentimental religion and the religion of art, which is the true universal religion, the occasion for saving this religion from sentimentality and the material for this new art. In the next section there is the description of the theatre and then follows the elaboration of the secret ceremonials behind the curtains conducted by

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the actors who belong to a guild. It is then that the nature and purpose of art, the manifestation of beauty (*Rasa*) is taken up. This forms only a small part of the whole book in thirty-six chapters.

Literary criticism is found in the section relating to the language part in the mode of presentation. The language may be the classical and polished language, Sanskrit, or it may be the colloquial language of the homes and of the country part and of the street. This latter too has dialects. While classicalising this colloquial language for dramatic representation, the dialects to be used are fixed, with reference to the nature of the characters that are to speak in that language. Here it may be said that just as in Greek dramas there is an admixture of the Attic and the Doric dialects, there is an admixture of Sanskrit and the Prākrit (Colloquial) languages in Sanskrit dramas. The Greeks had no theatre; here there is an elaborately planned theatre for the presentation of the dramas. The costumes are also far more elaborate, complicated and varied; so is also the system of dance and facial expressions and symbolical postures in dancing.

It is the section relating to the language aspect of the representation of the drama on the stage, that has become the basis for all latter-day literary criticism in Sanskrit. Language to manifest beauty in what is expressed by the language must have some special features called excellences (*Guṇas*) which are not necessary for a mere expression of an idea. There must be the avoidance of other features that mar the beauty in what is expressed by that language, and such features are termed *Doṣas* (defects). Then there must be some special ornamentation. These three factors, the excellences, the defects and the ornamentations, may relate primarily to the language form or to the things expressed, the meaning. Thus there are six factors in literary language meant to manifest beauty in what is expressed; they are association of excellences in the language form and in the meaning, avoidance of defects in the language form and in the meaning and decorations with ornaments for the language form and for the meaning. Such decorations are technically called *Alaṁkāras*, a term not used in this technical sense by Bharata. Bharata has his own technical term for this limited application of the term. It is these six factors in the description of language to be employed in drama that form the chief subject matter for latter-day literary criticism.

This gave rise to what may be called the formal or classical school of literary criticism. They wrote books on literary criticism dealing with these six aspects of literary criticism. The chief authors

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who wrote on the subject are Daṇḍin with his *Kāvyādarśa*, Bhāmaha with his *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, Udbhaṭa with his work known also as *Kāvyālaṅkāra* and Vāmana whose work too is known by the same name. The first three wrote their works in metrical form while the last resorted to the aphoristic prose style of the *Sūtras*, with his own running commentary. Not one of them asserted that literary criticism and poetry-making are mechanical processes for which definite rules for procedure and execution can be laid down and that any one can write a poem or appreciate a poem with such a training. What they did was only to set out the general features found on the formal side in all the works that had acquired a name for being good poetry. They all recognised that poetic genius, imagination (*Pratibhā*) is necessary both in a poet and in a critic. The matter relating to the critic is not specifically mentioned by them; but they all specify the features in a great poet. But lesser poets can attempt at the art of poetry by understanding the specimens of other poets who have acquired fame in the field and by also training in the formal side of the art described in works on literary criticism and related subjects like grammar. Poetic beauty is a mystery that cannot be described in language.

Side by side with this activity of those who tried to analyse the specimens of poetic art and lay down rules about the factors constituting good poetry, there were others who understood and who asserted, though not in the form of definite treatises, that there is an element of beauty which can only be manifested by the language and the expressed meaning without being directly expressed by the language. That is three fourths of the capacity of the language, stated in the *Ṛgveda*, hidden from the common people and known only to the poets; that is the beauty which ordinary people, staring and listening, cannot see or hear, but which the language exposes only to the poet.

In the ninth century A.D. a great critic named Ānandavardhana dealt with the whole subject in the form of a book known as the *Dhvanyāloka*, the general theory being given in a verse and the doctrine being developed in prose following the verse. Nearly a century later, another critic named Abhinava Gupta elaborated the the earlier work; this Abhinava Gupta has also commented on the doctrine further in the form of a commentary called the *Locana* on whole of the work of Bharata. The controversy is not on the question whether there is some element in poetry outside of the language with its direct meaning, both having certain specific merits, freedom from some specific defects and some decorations, in the case of

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poetry. The real controversy is about the nature of the language, whether language has a capacity of its own beyond the power of direct expression of objects, what may be called the power of manifestation, technically termed *Dhvani*. This theory of *Dhvani* as a new factor in language was severely criticised by a few later critics; one position opposed to him is that language is language, with its power of direct expression and that when a poet uses the language, there is a twist in the language. What distinguishes poetry from the ordinary language is that in the former there is this twist while in ordinary language the expression is straightforward. There is another school of thought according to which language has only one power, that is, the power of direct expression; when a poet uses a language, it enables the hearer to infer some ideas that are not directly expressed by the language but that are contained in that language as capable of being so inferred.

The theory was formally started by Ānandavardhana for the first time that language has a two-fold power, the power of direct expression and the power of manifestation. It is a distinct power and known only to poets and understood only by those who have the critical faculty to realise poetic beauty. It is that beauty that is manifested in poetry by a poet; beauty cannot be directly expressed in language. What the language can do is to express the conditions in which beauty is produced, rather manifested. Ānandavardhana shows in his work that there is such a power in language, that poetry is real poetry when there is this manifestation of beauty, other factors like style and embellishments being only helps for the manifestation of beauty and not beauty themselves. Sometimes both the expressed meaning and the manifested beauty may be within the intention of the poet to present, sometimes only the beauty. Sometimes the beauty manifests itself simultaneously along with the expression of the direct meaning and sometimes it may be as a resonance of the expressed meaning. He also shows how his new theory is implied in the theories about language according to all systems of thought. If he had been left to himself, he would have called poetry only such compositions where there is this manifestation of beauty as the chief factor; but he is limited by tradition and so he calls this the best poetry and others as inferior poetry. But such poetry is rare, and there are not even half a dozen of them known to him as really great poets. He accepts as good poetry in a mood of compromise, even such compositions where this manifested beauty is secondary and not primary. It is this manifestation of beauty that enables poets to bring in originality and variety even when the topic and situations are identical.

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The situation described is outside the experience of the reader or the audience. The characters in whom the first emotions are stirred are also beyond the sphere of the readers and the audience. How is it that the reader and the audience enjoy what is outside their direct experience? At best there is only a presentation of something like the real original characters and situations. It is said that the enjoyment of beauty, though not directly experienced by the reader or the audience as it could be only in the original characters and situations, is due to what is termed universalisation. There are certain common features between man and man. When particulars relating to time, place and conditions, and also individualities, are eliminated in the presentation of the ancient characters and situations, then there is some sort of sympathetic stir of emotions in the reader and the audience on account of the preponderance of the universal element between the theme of description and the reader or the audience which develops the same emotions within and enjoys what comes within the range of his direct experience in that stage. Thus the enjoyment is not of what is external to the audience; they enjoy some situations of beauty within themselves, through the universalisation by the poet. Philosophically, this aesthetic enjoyment is equated with the enjoyment in the experience of one's unity with the Absolute.

Ānandavardhana's theory, developed by his commentator Abhinava Gupta, was too strong to be displaced or suppressed by any other theory of aesthetic enjoyment. That is the theory of Bharata, clear in his exposition of the subject though not actually mentioned in so many words, and this is also the theory of aesthetic enjoyment found in the *Ṛgveda*, hinted in some of the passages already alluded to above. A two-fold power in language, one in the language of the common people and an additional power in the language of true poets, remained in literary criticism. The power in the ordinary language is for direct expression and the additional power for manifestation of beauty is in the language of true poets.

In Bharata, the points relating to literary criticism came in rather incidentally, his work being mainly related to dramatic art. But the full implication of literary criticism is contained in the little that has been expressly stated by Bharata, and has been developed by literary critics through an unbroken tradition until the whole material was put into writing as a treatise by Ānandavardhana. The text of the drama was taken up by some literary critics. It became a separate subject for treatment later and some critics included the subject within general literary criticism. Here also there have been different channels. There is a work called the *Daśarūpaka* (the Ten

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Kinds of dramas) in which the structure of the text of a drama is fully described. The drama must have a plot, a story with a beginning leading to a middle and then to a culmination. There must be a natural evolution from beginning to the middle and from the middle to the end. Thus there must be five stages, namely, the beginning, its evolution to the middle, the middle, the evolution of the middle to the end and the end. There are various links connecting the different parts of the above five-fold chain. There must be the characters. The hero must be a dignified personality. There must be other characters also with their distinct features and their functions. Then there must be the variety of situations in which love or heroism may dominate, so far as the two main types of dramas are concerned. There must be the other elements also like pity and remorse, wonder and humour. There are many works in which the special feature of the situation is analysed. Here many works are known as dealing with Love (*Śṛṅgāra*). They considered Love as the noblest and the purest instinct in man conducive to the manifestation of beauty in the world.

Bharata has dealt with two more main topics, namely, dancing and music. There are many works relating to these two sides also. *Abhinayadarpaṇa* is the most important work on the side of dancing and gestures and such points relating to the presentation of the drama. On the music side the literature is much larger. The most important works are the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva and the *Saṅgītarāja* of Maharana Kumbha of Mewar. The latter is yet available only in manuscripts. In them, all the points relating to dancing and dramatic presentation are also given as subsidiary to music, while in Bharata they formed the chief theme, with music as accessory. There are various works relating to pure music without any admixture of dancing and dramatic representation, like the *Rāgavibodha* of Somadeva and *Svaramelakalānidhi* of Rāmāmātya. The theory of musical tunes (*Rāgas*) underwent considerable changes from Bharata to the modern time. Śārṅgadeva in his *Saṅgītaratnākara* elaborated on Bharata, while there is a further elaboration in the *Rāgavibodha* and the *Svaramelakalānidhi*, and the whole system was established on a mathematical and geometrical basis by Veṅkaṭa Makhin. There are seven notes and in a tune all may appear or it may be that one or two may be missing, this missing one not being a particular one of the seven. By permutation and combination he arrived at seventy-two primary tune patterns and a large number of derivative tunes. They are all arranged in columns in a very systematic way. This is the basis of the analysis of songs into Tunes (*Rāgas*) now current in South India. There is another point on

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which much attention has been paid, and that is the time beat in singing. This too has been worked out in a very elaborate way.

(e) PHILOSOPHY

India has been ever a nation of poets. I do not know whether there was a pre-historic period when in India also priests and conquerors had a dominating voice in the affairs of the nation. But from the earliest times of which we have any literary record, namely, the literary records known as the *Vedas,* and of which we have indications in such records, the affairs of India had been in the care of poets. A poet is a poet because he has the vision of the Truth in the universe; when one has a vision of the Truth, he has also some theories and views about that Truth and he has also some reverence for that Truth. Thus, philosophy and religion come out of poetry in India. We have a philosophy of poets and we have also a religion of poets in the country. The philosophy of priests and the religion of priests patronised by conquerors came into India only at a much later stage from outside India.

A poet cannot see a void or a hallucination in his vision; he sees only a real positive object in his vision. Thus the world to a poet is a reality; but the world may not be such a reality in appearance to the common people. So what a poet does is to describe in poetry the real nature of the world as true, when the world appears as of momentary and constant changes and without a continuous, unbroken reality in it. This is the philosophy that we find in the *Ṛgveda* and in the *Atharvaveda* and in the *Upaniṣads.* This is the philosophy behind the ritualisms of the *Yajurveda* and of the *Brāhmaṇas.* If we relate the real nature of the Universe with its appearance in the experiences of the common man, that relation is like the relatioin of a cause and an effect. The poet sees the world only as a beauty and never sees suffering as a nature within the universe. So in the philosophy of the poets, there is only happiness in the world and that happiness is what the world ultimately turns out to be. You may call it the goal.

Even in the *Ṛgveda* and in the *Atharvaveda* there are reflections of another view about the world that the world is a place of suffering, not real in its nature and not worthy of being cared for. There are people mentioned there who are known as *Brahmacārins,* people who lived a life of search for *Brahman* or the highest truth outside the world and outside man's life in the world. In Buddhism the worthlessness of the world became a settled doctrine, that the world is only an illusion, just a manifestation and that the reality in the

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universe is of the nature of a complete void (*Śūnya*). Life is misery, experience is suffering, action is sin and knowing is an error.

In the time of the *Vedas,* there does not seem to have existed any regular treatise on the various problems of the world. There were discussions and there must have been treatises on various subjects. But if the *Upaniṣads* are examples for such treatises, the discussion must have been of the nature of drawing-room talks in a home and not debates in an assembly with formal rules of procedure. It was the advent of the Buddhistic doctrines of the momentariness and illusory nature of the world, of the error-nature of experience, abandonment of the records of experience by the poets of the *Vedas* as authority for the nature of the world, and acceptance of only the words of Buddha as of authority, he being the only person who knew the truth and who spoke the truth: it was this situation that necessitated the change-over of discussions from the informal assemblies of the gardens attached to the residence of the wise people (the *Āśramas*) and from the royal courts to regular assemblies with formal rules of procedure in debates.

In such a formal approach to the problem of the world as inherited from the Vedic culture, there were six main schools of thought. They are the *Sāṅkhya,* the *Yoga,* the *Vaiśeṣika,* the *Nyāya,* the *Mīmāṁsā* and the *Vedānta* Schools. They are supposed to have originated respectively from the garden institutions of the six sages, namely, Kapila, Patañjali, Kaṇāda, Gautama, Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa. There is a set of aphoristic prose passages called the *Sūtras* as the basic text for each of the six systems. In the case of the *Sāṅkhya* system, the original text is lost, and a text of that pattern was written by a late writer named Vijñānabhikṣu with a commentary by himself.

Sāṅkhya is really a poets' philosophy. The world is real. There is the changing world of phenomena, which goes back on a uniform, which in its turn is a combiniation in a state of equilibrium of three constituents, namely, the intelligence, the activity and the matter. There is this phenomenal world on account of the disturbance in their balance. The cause of this disturbance is the presence of a factor called *Puruṣa* (the Person), the pure Sentience. On account of the reflection of this Sentience on the intelligence factor in the three-fold uniform, there is the element of order and arrangement and goal for the activities of the world. Life and life activity are only in this three-fold uniform, which is primal Matter. The Sentience can be styled the Spirit in contrast. The Spirit itself has no activity and the Matter itself has no sentience. Both are the re-

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flection and mutual transfer between the three-fold matter and Sentience. There is no God. The whole force for the world process is within the world and this force operates on account of the Natural Law. The mutual relation between the three-fold uniform and its changes on one side and the pure Sentience on the other side is illustrated by the relation of the actress who changes her aspect of indifference to one of activity on the stage and the audience which, in themselves free from action, find themselves identified with the actress and consider themselves as acting. Here is the poets' philosophy where even illustrations are taken from art. Of the available text, there is a set of verses by Īśvarakṛṣṇa, which give the fundamental doctrines, and they are interpreted by two commentators, Gauḍapāda and Vācaspati Miśra. There are a few more; but the above are the important ones.

In the *Yoga*, there is the practical side. The metaphysics and various doctrines are the same as in the *Sāṅkhya*. When there is such a relation between the Sentience and the Matter, the Sentience experiences the changing actions of the Actress and the Sentience can withdraw from this activity and attain to its state of indifference through control. There is the action of the Actress and the transfer of that action to the audience, because the audience is attached to, and goes to, the theatre. If they stop their visit to the theatre, then the audience will be in its own nature. The *Yoga* system deals with the method of effecting this detachment from identification with the activities of the Matter, which become the activities, by super-imposition, in the Sentience itself. Control of character by control of mind, body and emotions, control over an easy posture, control over the breathing activity, withdrawal of the mind from other things, fixation of the mind at a particular point, contemplation at that point and complete union with that point are the eight steps in the process of withdrawing the Sentience from the activities in Matter. Various powers are generated during this process, which are only side products, and such side products may even be a hindrance and danger to the aspirant. Ultimately the identification between the Sentience and the activity ceases and Man becomes free at that stage. There is the original text by Patañjali in the form of the aphoristic prose passages called the *Sūtras*, with a commentary by Vyāsa and a super-commentary by Vācaspati Miśra. There are a few more. The system developed into acrobatics at a later stage.

The *Vaiśeṣika* and the *Nyāya* have more or less the same metaphysics and logic. They differ in their approach. Validity of knowledge depends on the validity of the mode of knowing. Correct modes

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lead to correct understanding. For this reason the problem of correct modes of knowing (*Pramāṇa*) with their objects (*Pramēya*), various accessories in knowing and various forms of incorrect modes of knowing are treated in detail in the *Nyāya* system. In the *Vaiśeṣika*, the position is that a thing can be known if all the things can be arranged in some order, through a process of division and classification. If the highest genus is placed on the top and if the divisions and sub-divisions are given below until we come to individuals which have no common factor, then every object in the world can be correctly spotted in this scheme by noting its position in the horizontal columns which will show the genus and the vertical columns which show the particulars. Here the highest genus is divided into six categories. Negation is not given as a category in the beginning, but is implied as a fact in the world, in the text; this was added as a separate category later.

The seven categories of the *Vaiśeṣika* got merged into the objects of knowing accepted in the *Nyāya* system, and the *Vaiśeṣika* ceased to progress as a system. Only the *Nyāya* had its development. The original text of the *Vaiśeṣika* is by Kaṇāda and there is an elaboration of it in the form of a gloss called the *Bhāṣya* (elaborate commentary) by Praśastapāda, which in its turn is interpreted by a great scholar named Udayana in his *Kiraṇāvali*. At a much later stage, one Śaṅkara Miśra wrote an elaborate commentary called the *Upaskara*. On the *Nyāya* side there has been a very rich growth. The original text is the *Sūtras* of Gautama, with its commentary called the *Bhāṣya* by Vātsyāyana. This is commented upon by Udyotakara in his work known as the *Vārtika*, which in its turn was explained by Vācaspati Miśra, and that explanation was further expounded by Udayana. The original *Sūtras* were independently interpreted by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa in his *Nyāya-mañjarī*. There were small independent treatises by some authors giving a gist of the contents of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems. A great work that must be taken special note of is the *Kusumañjali* of Udayana where the author attempts to prove the existence of God through a process of rationalism. It was Gangeśopādhyāya who effected a synthesis of the *Vaiśeṣika* with the *Nyāya* system by writing a basic text in which he took up the seven categories of the objective world and brought them into the four kinds of modes of cognition, namely, perception, inference, analogy and verbal testimony, according to the *Nyāya*. This became the basic text for medieval *Nyāya*. This was interpreted further by Raghunātha Śiromaṇi in his *Dīdhiti*, and there are further elaborations by Gadādhara and Jagadīśa. This work of Gangeśopādhyāya called *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* took the same

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position in *Nyāya* which Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Siddhānta Kaumudī* took in grammar in the medieval period.

The literary style kept in some of the early works is superb. Vātsyāyana in his *Bhāṣya* keeps up more or less the vigorous style of Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* in grammar. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāya-mañjarī* is another work with an admirable style. The style of Udayana's *Kusumāñjalī* is what cannot be rivalled for debating skill. It is a sort of public oration with a grand style. In the latter-day period, the system of *Nyāya* developed a new style of definitions and revisions of definitions. The use of various technical terms was fixed. The mode of statement was also regularised into a certain pattern. Thus a jar is spoken of as "what is determined by jarness". A statement like "the clay is the cause of a jar" is stated as:— causality existing in clay by the relation of identity and determined by clayness is implied by a corresponding effectness existing in the same substrate by the relation of inherence and determined by jarness. This is only a very simple form of statement. The statement of a Universal in a syllogism is one of the most complex points in the latter-day *Nyāya* texts. In this later system, each point is taken up for a definition, a primary definition is given, objections are raised, revisions are brought forward, further objections are raised, and in this way whole books are written on the definition of a single point. This may be mechanical, there may be nothing that can be called originality in thought or doctrines; yet there is incredible precision and accuracy in statement. This is a new Sanskrit style which cannot be understood through a proficiency in the language or acquaintance with the subject-matter. One has to study the texts separately as a distinct discipline. There is nothing that can be called literary excellence in this language; it is just a mass of words heaped one over the other, and it may even seem clumsy and monstrous from the point of view of style. This is in contrast to the excellent style of the early works in this discipline.

In the above systems, everything dealt with as a part of the subject came within the scope of perception and reason. There are two systems in which the subject-matter fell outside of perception and reason and the subject-matter can be known only through a faculty in man which may be called intuition. Those who have a vision of such subjects through their intuition can, within the limitations of the language, state the point in language form, and ordinary men can know the subject only on the authority of the statements by those who had a direct vision of it in their intuition. The *Mīmāṁsā* has one main subject-matter and the *Vedānta* has another. In the *Mīmāṁsā*, the world is an eternal dynamic machine, and there is a

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Law of Nature according to which the machine functions. It is not a perfect mechanism in its actual function in so far as there are the men in it who can work according to the Natural Law, against that Natural Law or in some way different from that Law. The Law cannot be known through perception nor can its nature be inferred by any means at the command of the common man. But there were those who had the intuition whereby they could have had a vision of it, and they have recorded their experience in language form. The philosophy deals with the problem of this Natural Law of the world by a study of the records of those who have had the direct vision of it.

Man is supreme in the world and he can do what he desires; every action has its allotted fruit in this world regulated by the Natural Law. By following law, one gets happiness and progression, and by going against that law one reaps suffering and downfall. There is no God or any other agency to regulate this Law, which is self-controlled. The world and man in the world have no beginning nor will there be any end to them. There is no Omniscient One among the men. All know a part of the Law, and there is a gradation in this range of knowing among men.

The basic text is the *Mīmāṁsā Sūtra* of Jaimini with the commentary called the *Bhāṣya* by Śabarasvāmin. At this stage the system divided into two schools, one propounded by Prabhākara and the other propounded by Kumārilabhaṭṭa. In the former, there are the two commentaries on the *Bhāṣya* by Prabhākara, known as the *Bṛhatī* and the *Laghvī;* only a portion of the former is available while nothing of the latter is known except through allusions. They are commented on by Śālikanātha. On the side of the school of Kumārilabhaṭṭa, there are his commentaries in three parts called the *Ślokavārtika*, the *Tantravārtika* and the *Ṭupṭīkā*, for the three portions of the Bhaṣya into which he divides it. There are commentaries on this commentary by Pārthasārathi Miśra and also by many others. There are also many independent works in this school, which is one of the richest in point of literature. The *Bhāṣya* of Śabarasvāmin is on the lines of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* in grammar, with an encyclopaedic compass. For sheer intellectual wealth, Kumārilabhaṭṭa's commentaries on them cannot have a rival, and his literary style too is really grand. So is the style of Pārthasārathi Miśra, his commentator. In this system we see some of the best specimens of Sanskrit prose style.

While in the *Mīmāṁsā* the world is taken as eternally dynamic, there is the system of *Vedānta* in which the phenomenal world

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goes back on an Absolute. The system has developed three Schools. According to one there is only the Absolute that is real, and the phenomenal world is only an appearance; even here there are two sub-schools, one holding that the Absolute itself appears as phenomenal while the other view is that the Absolute is just there, and that the phenomenal is also just there without any real relation to the Absolute. There is the other School which holds the phenomenal world as real, being part of the Absolute, being "This" in regard to the Absolute that is the "Beyond". This is known as the School of Qualified Monism. The third School holds the view that the phenomenal and the Absolute are real, and different from each other, the Absolute being Supreme with the phenomenal as subordinate to it.

In all the Schools, the basic text is the same, the *Sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa. The first School is expouned by Śaṅkara in his *Bhāṣya*, with its commentaries called the *Pañcapādikā*, which covers only a small portion of the beginning, and the *Bhāmatī* by Vācaspati Miśra. Both of them have a large number of commentaries. The interpretation of the second School is given by Rāmānuja, whose commentary called the *Śrī Bhāṣya* is again commented upon by Śudarśana Bhaṭṭa in his *Śruta-prakāsikā*. In the third School the exposition is given by Madhva whose *Bhāṣya* is commented upon and expounded by Jayatīrtha. In all the Schools there are many commentaries and independent works dealing with the subject as a whole or with parts of the doctrine. Śaṅkara's style is elegant, while that of Rāmānuja is grand; Madhva is terse and precise.

Buddhism had developed a large number of works in Sanskrit. But just as the works relating to *Sāṅkhya* have dwindled down in course of time, to a small number, here also the number of books available is very small. Mostly the works relate to Logic. The works of Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti are the most prominent in this School. A large number of works that are now lost to us in the original are preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations, and attempts are being made to reconvert them into their original Sanskrit form. There are a few books with a Buddhistic content in Sanskrit, and the most important are the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* and *Lalitavistara*. Even the available Buddhistic works in Sanskrit have a great importance in literature and in culture. In Jainism also there are a few books. The total number of books in the various systems is too large to be even noticed briefly here.

In the *Veda* and in all the systems that follow the Vedic path, we see the hand of poets in the philosophical doctrines. The world is the whole, with all the possibilities within the world, without a beyond for the world; may be there is a beyond for the phenomenal

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world. But that beyond is not cut off from the phenomenal world, which is a manifestation of that Absolute. There is a unity within the world, and in its real nature the world is happiness. The world is intelligently planned and worked out. If there is suffering, that is an aberration and not a nature of the world. Experience of the world in its true nature brings happiness. Even what appears as suffering, as what is to be avoided, becomes happiness when handled by a poet. There is no chance or chaos in the world. There is intelligence behind the world and there is no stage for the world prior to the appearance of intelligence. Either intelligence is the source from which the world evolved or intelligence and the world are parallel growths. The world is no hindrance on the Path, the Path being within the world with a goal that is not also outside of the world. It may be that there is no positive happiness at the final stage in the sense in which there is happiness in the life which is intermixed with suffering; but cessation of suffering is accepted in all systems. Only poets can evolve such a philosophy of happiness in the world. It is in this way that there is a union of thought with art in Sanskrit literature, the thinkers, the philosophers, being the poets.

(f) RELIGION

Poets produced a religion in India, and that religion still influences the life of the whole nation. The religion branched off into various sub-religions. But there are certain fundamentals that continued, and the religion never deteriorated into a group of mutually persecuting groups resorting to inhuman ways and inhuman instruments of fortune to spread and continue the religion of God. The religion that developed in India in those early days was not the religion of a single person; it was not the result of the illumination of a single individual, nor was it the result of a man being sent to the earth by God from above to teach humanity and to save humanity. The religion of the *Vedas* is the result of a national awakening. The nation developed certain powers of vision by which many people could see and understand the true nature of the phenomena of the world, seeing the things in themselves instead of their external aspects, their surfaces. Among them Yama is spoken of as the first to see the Path and other people follow him. There were many poets like Atharvan and Aṅgiras who were helpers of Yama, and Yama had also a brother named Manu to establish the religion and the civilization that arose as a result of this national awakening.

There were gods and Yama met them in the region beyond. Varuṇa was the king and Yama too became king of the higher re-

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gion. Some mortals had already risen to the level of gods and they are the Maruts and the Ṛbhus. Aṅgiras became a sort of semi-divine being, not a full god and not merely a mortal on the earth. He had his position among the gods and had his share in the offerings given by men during the worship. The development of this supervision and the establishment of the modes of religious worship and the regulation of the life of the people by the poets like Manu and Aṅgiras formed the start of the religion of the *Vedas*. The descendants of these poets continued the system established by their ancestors. It was not a religion communicated by a single God to a single teacher. It was a religion in which a civilized nation came into communion with a nation of gods.

Gods came to the religious ceremonies performed by the people and, like honoured and beloved guests, they were entertained with various objects which human beings enjoy, and the gods partook of them and enjoyed the occasion which was associated with music. It was a direct association of men and gods without the mediation of priests. The gods move about in the world, they look after the welfare of the men. They are the guests of men at ceremonials. The main feature of the religious ceremony was the pressing of the *Soma* plant for extracting the juice and for offering that juice along with rice, barley, milk, curdled milk, honey and various other articles in the Fire. The Fire carried them to the gods, the gods were brought to the place of the ceremony by the Fire, the gods partook of offerings with Fire as their mouth. There were daily rituals. rituals on occasions like the full-moon and the new-moon and in seasons like the Spring and the Rainy season, and in particular parts of the year like the Spring Equinox.

Such annual rituals formed occasions for national festivity and jubilation, at which people from all parts of the country assembled. There had been literary, intellectual and poetic competitions, there were tournaments like chariot-race, there were amusements like music. People made friends and young people found their mates on such occasions. Merchants came and held markets to make profits. Such were the frequent occasions when people from different parts of the country met and felt some sort of national unity based on culture. There were no doctrines, no beliefs that were imposed on the people by the priests or by the politicians, and this freedom kept the nation also free from disruption into various sects with conflicting religious practices and religious beliefs. There was only a national religion without a founder, without a God, without priests, without an organised church.

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A time came when among some people, killing of animals was just a pretext for propitiating a god but really meant to satisfy hunger, and receiving monetary reward became the chief element in such religious rituals. It was at that time that Buddha appeared in the country. He emphasised the life aspect in religion and condemned the carnal aspects and the worldly gains attached to such rituals; there must also have been growing a tendency to organise a priesthood with its own hierarchy and its own church. Buddha condemned this also. Such tendencies must have been very weak; otherwise Buddha could not have preached such condemnations so freely against a tendency in the nation. There arose at that time another great teacher, Jina. Two religions grew up around the personality of these two teachers.

There is nothing in the literary records to show that there was any sort of feud between the old religion and the newly growing religions. The new religions appear to have been an expression of the general tendencies of the nation. The great change in the people was that the national festivities associated with the Vedic rituals changed their occasion into the rituals in temples that were part of the new religion. Instead of Fire and offering in the Fire and the presence of gods at such rituals, gods were installed in temples that were constructed as permanent abodes of gods. For the great annual rituals of the Vedic religion, the structures were temporary sheds. People assembled from various parts of the country at such rituals in temples. Gradually the Vedic religion of Fire-offering and the Buddhistic and Jain religions of temple worship got merged into the national religion of India.

It is this religion that is to be designated the Classical or Purāṇic religion of India, the religion that dominates the spirit of the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas*. It is the Vedic religion adapted to the change in the times. There was a union between the Vedic rituals and the religion of temple worship. The Vedic rituals became confined to a part of the nation while the temple worship became common to all the people. The Vedic gods who appeared at the rituals with their chariots and weapons and ornaments and consorts in response to the songs of the poets, made their appearance with very slight alterations in the temples also in the same form with rich robes and ornaments, weapons and consorts. The gods continued to receive the offerings; the difference was only to this extent that while in the Vedic relgion, the offerings were made in the Fire, in the temples, the offerings were presented to the gods abiding in the idols. Rich food was common to both.

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The monasteries were joined on to the temples. The Brahmacārins, those who in the Vedic times lived a special kind of life looking forward to know the *Brahman* or the Truth, became the strongest advocates of the Vedic rituals and also adherents of the temple worship in the form of the Ṛṣis or ascetics living in the hermitages (*Parṇaśālas*) of the suburban gardens. Instead of the new religion of Buddha and Jina producing conflict and dissensions among the nation, they became the strongest forces for bringing the nation together on a common cultural platform, and this was possible because the Vedic religion was a religion of the nation, nurtured by poets. The Jains kept to their temple worship, while in the other temples, the Vedic rituals became an associated institution though not a part of it.

This new religion had three main divisions, the Viṣṇu religion, the Śiva religion and the Śakti or Goddess religion. They were not conflicting religions; they all got on very well with friendliness, tolerating each other. Each of the three religions had developed its own literary texts, called the *Āgamas*. Such literature was accepted as a continuation and as a part of the *Vedas*. Fire and sword and dungeons had no place in the national life of the people grouped separately on a religious basis as Viṣṇū, Śiva and Śakti. Within the Vedic rituals there was little scope for the development of any art except poetry and music. Architecture and sculpture and painting became very important arts within the new religion in temples. The literature relating to the new religion took up these arts as integral factors in the religion. Music and dancing also became very prominent in the religious festivals in temples; so did drama. Literature had its position in the temple religion, similar to its position in the Vedic rituals, in so far as poets composed songs addressed to the gods, and bards recited the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* in the temples for the edification of the general public; and at that time education was so wide-spread and Sanskrit was so very popular among the people that the *Itihāsas* and *Purānas* recited at the temples were understood by the general visitors to the temples. Since priests were not of great importance and since god was everything, there were no special occasions when all the people assembled for worship; people went to the temple at all times and had the sight of the god in the idol, though at special rituals there was a special crowd of worshippers also. As a matter of fact, the temples never developed a priesthood; the only organisation that can be designated a priesthood is he Monastic Order, and this is an external factor assimilated into the Vedic system; but the temples are direct continuations of the Vedic religion with only a slight adjustment.

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The temples represented the national life and were also symbolic of the genius of the nation. The temples were not correctives to the sins of life. The gods with their weapons represented the defence of the country against aggression and against danger to the national culture; the gods with their consorts and their silk-robes and jewels and the light and the colour represented the prosperous and contented life of the people. The worshippers saw their companions in the gods. Gods were in the temples with their actual presence. People had personal experience of such divine presence in the temples. People received protection and help and guidance from the gods in the temples as from national leaders. The poets and the devotees sang about such protection and help and guidance received from the gods.

Along with the worship of the gods in the idols, there is another important factor in the religion of temple worship. In the Vedic religion they had the invocations to the various gods in the form of *Mantras* incorporated in the various *Vedas*. In the religion of the temples they had new *Mantras* or passages for recitation to flare up certain powers in the world which would bring in what is desirable and which would destroy what is to be avoided. An immense literature grew up in the form of various *Mantras* to be utilised on various occasions for various purposes.

(g) LAW

From the earliest times Indians thought of the World-Law (*Dharma*) as an objective factor in the world, as an integral factor in the world. It has no beginning and it has no originator. It works from within itself without a Lord to control it. This is in contrast to the legal systems found in any other country, ancient or modern. Even in modern times, though law is not traced back to a God, law is only a convention, something that represents a will. Although many things were committed to writing in the Vedic times, there was no written code for "the Law of the country", among the aspects of the World Law. No one claimed to be a final authority on Law; no one claimed to have received and communicated God's Law to humanity. Law was a national system like the religion. It was only at a much later stage that there arose the need for codification of Law. Just as there was Logic in India, and rules of debate also, though there were no systematised philosophical treatises like the *Sūtras* and further developments, at an early stage, there was also Law functioning efficiently without a set of codes of Law with a priesthood or a bureaucracy to administer the Law. But when there arose Buddhism and when the fundamentals of Law were questioned

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there was the need to write out the Law; and Āpastamba in his Code on Law says that what he was writing was an interpretation of Law based on the Conventions (current among the people) and on the activities (of the representative people). There was only a World Law for religion and a National Law for secular life. There was also the mechanical law of the objective world. All together formed the Natural Law of the Universe.

The original texts so far as what may be called the temporal law is concerned are in the form of *Sūtras,* the aphoristic prose passages; the important ones are by Āpastamba and by Gautama. It is very difficult to classify law as religious and temporal; there was no such compartmentalisation in the nation's life and what was not in the life cannot be introduced into the Codes. Man and his duties, which in many cases are related to rituals, matters relating to social etiquette, various usages relating to moral life and what are usually spoken of as religious life—these formed the main contents of the Codes. Classification of life according to vocation and according to stages in life is found specifically effected. Such *Sūtra* texts became the basis for later Codes.

At a later stage, the texts on law were written in the form of metrical passages, using generally the brief epic metre of four lines in a verse with eight syllables in a line. The chief among them are the texts known as *Smṛtis,* of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Parāśara and so on. There are many of them and there is a list of important writers on law accepted as authority in tradition. *Manu Smṛti,* among them, is also a good literature. It is not so much a Code as a literary text on Law. Since there had been accumulations, a large number of texts being written on law, there came a time when some sort of Digest had to be written bringing together all the views expressed by different writers on various points. This is the further stage in the development of legal literature. They bring together the views on the various points that have to be classified as religious, like gifts to the great people, places of pilgrimage, calendar with holidays and a variety of rituals besides the civil law.

The great value of Indian legal literature for the world is the development of the doctrine of Law being an objective and eternal factor in the universe. It was never made; it was never a gift from a God. When Buddhism developed the doctrine that only Buddha knew the Law and that he gave us the Law, there grew up a compromise formula in India that God taught the Law to the great Sages. Even if in some systems of thought there is a view that God created the Law, it is only the language form that is meant and not the reality called the law. The *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas* contain much that is

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Law, and they too are recognised as authority in Law as the Legal Codes.

(h) ASTRONOMY

We know the origin of poetry, religion and philosophy, and also of Law in India. The development of such aspects of the national culture was the result of the reaction of the external objective world on the highly developed internal powers of man in the country. In the case of astronomy we are not sure whether the urge came from a desire to know the truth about the changing and moving world. Bright bodies like the sun and the moon and the stars move in the heavens, and such movements produce some effect on the life of man by way of the shift from day to night and by way of the changes in the seasons. The investigation might have started through a desire to know the how and the what of such movements and the consequential changes. It may be, as well, that the people had to perform some ceremonials and the calculations of such movements and their inter-relations provide man with certain measures for determining the days of such ceremonials at convenient intervals. Whatever it is, even in those early times, Indians had made certain very accurate calculations relating to the movements and their bearing on man and his life. No other nation has been able to prepare a calendar that can stand by the side of the Vedic calendar for width and accuracy.

The earliest work on astronomy found in India is what is now called the *Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa,* the astronomy as an auxiliary to the *Vedas.* It has come in two recensions. They had a solar-cum-lunar year with twelve months each. There was a difference of eleven days in the year between the two calendars, and to keep up the parity, they added another month to the lunar year every three years, and there were frequent corrections to make up for any other differences. They knew the two halves of the lunar month and they knew also the movement and position of the sun and the moon among the constellation. They knew the phenomenon called the precession of the equinox, which produced a disturbance in the position of the sun among the constellations on the day of the vernal equinox. They started the year with the vernal equinox, and the correction for the change of the position of the sun among the constellations was effected by changing the month in the beginning of the year as the sun moved from one constellation to the next. Thus there are indications to show that at some stage, the year started with the month when the sun was in Sirius at the time of the vernal equinox, and it shifted to the month when the sun was in Orion and Plaids. The present Indian

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calendar was fixed when the sun was in Aries at the time of vernal equinox. Now it has shifted further back, and yet the Indian calendar has not been revised. The people could calculate the seasons according to the position of the sun among the constellations. Thus, the solar and the lunar year and the siderial and the seasonal year were all brought within a single system of calculation, making necessary corrections when the positions of the sun and of the moon changed among the constellations.

Although the planets were known, they do not seem to have had any place in the preparation of the calendar. The Greeks had been developing some calendar in the West. They had the calendars of the Middle East people; there is no evidence to show that they had the Indian calendar also with them when they developed their own astronomy. Scholars do not accept such an obligation. India had contact with the Greeks from very early times. Kālidāsa speaks of the Yavana (Ionian, i.e., Greek) girls as body-guards of kings and as their armoury-keepers, in the *Śākuntala* and in the *Vikramorvaśīya*. He speaks of the Yavana girls addicted to drinking wine, in his *Raghuvaṁśa*. In the *Kumārasambhava* he uses a Greek term Jāmitra, which must be Diametron. A great sage Atri says that the Greeks (Yavanas) are foreigners and yet the science of astronomy was well established among them, and that they too deserve as much honour as sages of the Vedic culture; this passage is given by Varāhamihira, a great astronomer of the sixth century A.D., as a citation from Atri.

Ārya Bhaṭa is one of the greatest astronomers in India. He gives his date as about the last quarter of the fifth century. He wrote a short work in three sections, which contains wonderful theories and calculations, besides many others, of which only two small works survive. The daily and annual movements of the earth, the relation of the movement of the moon to the movement of the earth, the shape of the earth, the size of the earth, the nature of eclipse and various other points are dealt with in his work. We do not know whether he was acquainted with the points in Kepler's Law of Motion or Newton's Calculus, in the way in which the points are dealt with by the later scientists of the West. But he knew the facts in the universe. Varāhamihira is the next great astronomer. He speaks of five systems known to him; one is *Romaśa* which must be the system current in Rome and Asia Minor. His date is in the beginning of the sixth century. Another system relates to *Pauliśa*, which must be Paulus. Both must be foreign. He also speaks of three Indian systems. He has also his own system in his work called the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, the system of the Sun-god.

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In Varāhamihira we get a large number of Greek terms. There are Greek terms corresponding to the twelve signs of the zodiac. There are many more. This shows his close acquaintance with Greek astronomy. The Indian mind had been ever tolerant; they welcomed knowledge from all sides and never entertained any prejudice against things that came from among the foreigners, and they acknowledged their indebtedness with gratitude. About Indian proper names, we are not at all sure. We do not know if Ārya is the name of the astronomer and whether Varāhamihira was an Indian name. He might have been called Ārya because he wrote his work in Ārya metre (four lines with metre calculated by quantity, the first and the third lines having three feet of four *moras* and the second and the fourth having five feet, with one defective foot in the second having only two *moras* and two defective feet in the fourth as one foot of two *moras* and one foot of one *mora*). It is not at all unlikely that he was so called because he fixed the year with Aries as the first month in the year. Varāhamihira may be the combination of two Palhavi names Barham and Mihir (Vṛtraghna and Mitra in the *Vedas*). It is just a speculation.

Varāhamihira was followed by great astronomers like Brahmagupta of the seventh century with his *Sphuṭa-siddhānta* and *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, and Bhāskarācārya with his *Siddhānta-śiromaṇī*, in the twelfth century. Another ancient name known is that of Lalla; King Bhoja of Dhārā is also a great astronomer. There are commentaries on Ārya Bhaṭa and Varāhamihira and Bhāskara later. But no great progress has been made.

In the field of astronomy, the contribution of India to humanity is really great. The system of writing numbers in decimal columns with a zero is a product of the Indian mind. Even now the numbers used in writing are known as Arabic numerals since it is through the Arabs that the West got the system. India was in contact with the regions where the Arabic language was prevalent, and some of the books on astronomy bear the name of Tājika, what relates to Tāji or Tāzi which is another name for Arabia. Various facts in arithmetic and algebra and geometry and trigonometry were known to the ancient Indians. They knew the relation between the circumference and the diameter of a circle and also their relation to a sector or a chord or an arc in a circle. They knew the relation between angles and sides in a figure, the theorem known as the Pythagorean theorem. Many algebraical formulas were also known to them. They knew the square roots and the cube roots and various relations between numbers. They calculated the value of what is now represented by the Greek letter π, which is the relation between the diameter

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and the circumference of a circle. They had correctly calculated the length of a year in terms of the number of days and also the length of a lunar day and a lunar month; they knew the exact precession of the equinox. The motions of the planets were also calculated by them. They knew that there is a variation in the movements of the planets, and they could note down only the mean movement, since the actual movement cannot be noted down. Though there has been no correction of the calculations for the last 800 years, still the formulae they applied for various calculations remain true even now with only negligible errors.

Varāhamihira is also the father of astrology in India. There must have been astrological works and astrological science before him. But his work called the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* (the Great Horoscope) is the standard work on the subject. Perhaps in this name, the word Jātaka=Horoscope is the Pahlavi word *Zadek*. It deals with the horoscope; the work is also called the *Horā,* which shows its Greek influence. There is no astrology in the Vedic tradition. The seasons and the days determined by the relative position of the sun and the moon among the constellation formed the sole basis for the determination of the days for performing various rituals. For no ritual was a good day calculated nor a good hour during that day, on the basis of the position of the sun and the moon among the planets, and planets had no influence on the life of a person. For marriage the horoscope of the two parties were not compared. What are called the horoscope and good day and good hour and also influence of the planets on the life of the people have no references in the Vedic literature and rituals and practices based on the *Vedas*. They all came into the life of the people as social practices without any sanction from the texts relating to Vedic life. There are various aspects of life that are related to astrology in general. There is the belief in a "writing on the skull" by Providence about what the person is destined to experience in his life. This "Fate" is a very late arrival into the life of man in India. There are auspicious moments to be calculated for all actions and when the action has a major position with a touch of religion, like the naming ceremony, first feeding, initiation to study and marriage, the moments are known as good *Muhūrtas*. But people began to calculate good moments for practically every activity like starting on a journey and starting agriculture or any business. Thus, the science of calculating good moments has two divisions, one relating to *Muhūrta* and the other to time in general. Then there are omens of various kinds; particular birds flying, sound of birds and beasts, direction of wind and all sorts of events were understood to portend some further turn of events.

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Along with astrology must be considered the vast literature relating to such subjects too. Then there is the science of palmistry.

Astrology and all the associated sciences mentioned above came to India from outside of the Vedic culture. The *Vedas* do not give any indication of the beliefs and practices included in those sciences. One cannot be sure if they came from outside India or from within India where in some other part and in some other culture such subjects had been developing. It may be Dravidian in origin. But when once it came into the life of the people following the Vedic Path, the science expanded into an immense area. There is a very extensive literature in all such subjects, and specially is this the case with astrology proper. Astrology became a science, developed out of beliefs and practices. On the associated subjects also there is a wealth of literature in Sanskrit.

(i) MEDICINE

Like astronomy, medicine is also a very ancient science in India. The Vedic texts are full of information about medicines, developed as a real science. Later on the science became a subsidiary *Veda*, called the *Āyurveda* (Life-*Veda*). Herbs had medicinal values; water had the same medicinal value. *Soma* gave cure from diseases and bestowed long life. The twin gods called Aśvins were physicians (*Phiṣaj*), and the god Rudra had a thousand medicines (*Bheṣaja*), related to water (*Jalāsa*). Cures were effected through *Mantras* (sacred passages). There must have been some kind of surgical processes current at that time.

Medicine is not given a place among the six auxiliaries for the understanding of the *Vedas,* in so far as it had nothing to do with the study of the *Vedas;* its place was in the performance of the Vedic rituals, and in life in general. A healthy body is necessary to function in a healthy civic life. That was the principle, and one who has not got a good body cannot perform the rituals effectively. There is no Vedic text on the subject, though much information about the subject is included in the available Vedic texts; that shows that the subject had been developed even at that time. The earliest texts on the subject are the *Caraka* and the *Suśruta* and the former has been translated into the Pahlavi language in the early centuries of the Christian Era. As a matter of fact, the name of the former does not seem to be Sanskrit; it may be the Pahlavi word *Cārek*. Both the books deal with the complete science of medicine. Daily life, Anatomy and Physiology, Diagnosis, Treatment of diseases, Medicines and various branches like Maternity and Ophthalmology and Diseases of children and Poison cure—all such subjects are brought

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into the compass of the book. The most popular work on the subject is the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa. This last is one of the best poems in Sanskrit apart from its scientific value. At a later date, a large number of works have been written on the subject, both on general medicine and also on specialised fields.

(j) LEXICOGRAPHY

This is another subject that had received the attention of the scholars in India even from the earliest times. The *Nirukta* of Yāska which is one among the six auxiliary subjects for the study of the *Vedas,* is in the form of explanations of a collection of words. There are three parts in that collection; one deals with synonyms and another with isolated words that need interpretation, while the third consists of the names of gods. This text is the basis for later lexicons. There must have been many other works of the kind, and it may be that the text of Yāska alone survived as it superseded all other works in quality.

At a later stage a large number of works on lexicon arose in the language. The most important among them is the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (Treatise on the Nouns and their Genders). The work is in three Books; but the contents are different from the contents of the three divisions of the lexicon in Yāska's *Nirukta.* In the first Book things in Heaven and Atmosphere are taken up and things in the earthly region are taken up in the second Book. The third Book contains miscellaneous topics. This work has become the standard book on lexicography. There must have been many earlier works, since the author says that he has collected together all information available in earlier works. Many works were also written at a later stage. The work is really important not merely on account of its comprehensive nature and thoroughness, but also for its literary value. It is really wonderful that a work of poetic value could be written on lexicography. A guide to the use of the work is given in the beginning, which cannot be excelled for brevity and precision. In the body of the book there are various explanations of the meanings of words, that are really poetic.

The general plan is to give the many words together as synonyms. But in the third Book different meanings of the same word are also given. There were other works in imitation of this work. And there arose also a large number of works in which the many meanings of the same word are given. There are also works dealing with lexicography of medical terms and Prākrit words, i.e. words in the colloquial form of the language.

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(k) GENERAL

i. *Politics*

Something like a political science had been developed in India even from the earliest times. But the literature is rather small, which has come down to us. There is a wealth of information relating to the subject of the political organisation of the nation. But they are rather scattered in a variety of works relating to other subjects and they are not collected together into single books. Such single books are not many. The organisation of the people into a State under a government with the Head of the State, his prerogatives and limitations, the need for an organised government, hereditary and elected Heads of the State, people's consent for the Head of the State to occupy that position, people's representatives, army, officials, departments of the government and their heads, village and other local organisations, revenue, expenditure, trade and industry, general welfare and public health, crimes and punishments, damages and making good losses through theft and other factors, war and peace, rules of warfare, inter-state relations—much information on a variety of subjects like the above, coming under what may be called Politics in its widest sense including different sides of economics, are available in different sources like the *Vedas*, the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas* and in various literary works. But they have not been properly collected and classified and presented in an orderly form. The few books available as separate works are the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, supposed to be the Prime Minister of Candragupta who was a contemporary of Alexander, its version in a metrical form called *Kāmandakīya-nītisāra* and *Śukra-nīti*.

ii. *Love*

Love is one of the most important emotions described in the literature of the Sanskrit language. Even gods come within the sphere of love, and such a tradition goes back to the *Vedas*. This subject has been separately treated in a book called the *Kāma-Śāstra* (Science of Love) by Vātsyāyana, who is a great sage. This has a commentary called *Jayamaṅgalā* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, the founder of the Monistic School of Vedānta. He was an ascetic from his boyhood. Whatever the authenticity of the authorship of the works, it is worthy of note that in tradition the text is attributed to a great sage and its commentary to an ascetic who joined the Order as a boy. There is its metrical version called *Rati-rahasya*. There are a few more books like the *Nāgarasarvasva* on the subject. The subject-matter of the original text is much more interesting

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than its authorship. After some general considerations, there is the second chapter on sexual processes, and here even homo-sexual relations are described in detail. The position is that even if one takes to practices that are objectionable, it is better to do them in some specific order so that some good results are obtained. It does not mean that in so far as a process is described in a scientific work, it has the approval as what may be done; it is just like the treatment of cooking dog's flesh in the work on cookery. How to approach a maiden and how to approach another person's wife are the subject-matter of two more chapters and then there is a chapter on the conduct of "Accessible Women" (Veśyā) followed by certain medicinal and *Mantra* prescriptions meant for success in love adventures. All these are described by a great sage, and that shows the freedom from prejudice, and the tolerance of the ancient Indian people. The work is worthy of study for certain psychological problems dealt with in it.

iii. *Wines*

Preparation of various kinds of wine is another subject in which there must have been a large number of books. There is a chapter in the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya,* the work on Medicine, in which the proper mode of drinking wine is described in so far as what is wrong is drunkenness and not drinking, and such a mistake is due to drinking wine in the wrong way. In the *Vedas,* various religious ceremonies are performed with alcohol, along with, or in the place of, the juice of the *Soma* plant. Alcohol was freely used in various forms of religious worship even in the Classical religions, especially in the Śakti form of worship. Most of the works are lost and we know of them mainly from citations and allusions.

iv. *Toilette Articles*

Ladies used to apply to their bodies creams and pastes and powders, and preparation of such articles for toilette purposes formed the subject-matter for a volume of literature. Even here, the actual works are mostly lost, more than in the case of the works relating to the preparation of wines. Names of books are known from references, and even some passages are cited by others. Preparation and use of such articles formed one of the most important arts in ancient times, and in the palaces and in the households of rich people, specialists were employed for the purpose. A reference to what ought to have been in Bhāsa's drama, the *Svapnavāsavadatta,* shows what importance was attached to this art of toilette in those days. It is said

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that when the king saw the face of the second queen decorated with a mark, he knew that his first queen, the daughter of the Avanti king, was still alive. No one other than that queen could make such a mark.

iv. *Cookery*

Cookery is another art that was raised to a high level among the upper class of the people. Here also there must have been a large number of works. There are references to various kinds of preparations with vegetables and also meat. As a matter of fact, Bharata in his work on dramaturgy equates the delectability in the dramatic art to the delectability in cooking.

v. *A Few More*

Agriculture, horticulture, water-divination, irrigation, training and treatment of horses and elephants and many subjects relating to agriculture and various avocations are dealt with in various books. Some are available, but not many. When the nation had life and growth there were many subjects too that were developed among the nation. But a stage of decadence set in, and all such works are now lost to us.

vi. *Burglary*

A wonderful work is what relates to burglary. I wonder if any nation wrote on the science and art of theft. In the drama of *Śūdraka* named the *Mṛcchakaṭika* there is reference to the science of burglary and its author, and the character named Śarvilaka refers to them and applies the rules in his act, when he went to burgle the house of the hero. *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin, the prose romance, also mentions some works and authors. One book justifying theft if it is for taking away what the rich have and for making proper use of it, has been discovered and has been published in the Adyar Library series, named *Dharma-caurya-rasāyana.*

There is no subject under the sun on which something has not been written in Sanskrit. The people in general, and the intellectuals especially, were so very scientifically minded that they could not think of virtuosity as a bar to the scientific investigation of any subject. Every subject is a subject and must be dealt with in science. Is there something that is worthy of being scientifically treated? This is the only question that they had to consider when they took up a subject. Religious beliefs and social conventions had their

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limits within the ordinary life of the people and did not function with the intellectual life of the people. When they take up a subject, they treat it with a thoroughness even in the very minutest details, unknown among any other nation in ancient days. They kept an open mind, nothing being precluded as not a fit subject for scientific treatment from the religious point of view. A treatment in a book does not mean that the subject is also prescribed as a factor in the national life. There is full freedom of the intellect, there is complete absence of any prejudice regarding the subjects and their treatment.

Sanskrit has the value as the record of the achievements of the greatest nation which the world has seen. The nation was great and the language had a rich growth when other ancient nations had been starting on their journey; the nation and the language continues with youth and virility when old nations have died out and when new nations are coming up with their literatures and with their civilizations. No language had the same continuous growth for such a long period which Sanskrit had; in point of comprehensiveness and width, no ancient language comes anywhere near Sanskrit. It was the national language of India and it continues so. It was the language from which other nations in the ancient world received illumination. It moulded and guided and controlled the life of the nation and that function is still carried out by the language with its rich literature. It is the only "National Indian Language" spread in the whole country and accepted in the whole country. It is not like Greek and Latin; there is no comparison between the language of the other ancient nations and Sanskrit. It was in the beginning; it was ever in the course and it is there even now. It is a living language; it is full of vigour; it will never decay. Indians have been great because Sanskrit was great, and Sanskrit was great because Indians were great. Sanskrit is the great language of a great nation.

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NOTES

(The figures within brackets after the page numbers refer to the paragraphs on the pages. If a page starts in the middle of a paragraph, that will be considered as the first for the page, the earlier portion being the last on the previous page).

II. THE VEDAS

Page 9(1). There can be no agreed solution of the problem of the date of the *Vedas;* I have given the main issues in sub-section v on P. 45 ff.

Page 9(2). The divisions are given in detail in *Vedas,* Ch. I.

Page 9(3). The divisions are given as ten Books (*Maṇḍala*), 1017 poems and 10472 verses. There are 11 more poems in the Eighth Book (from 49 to 59). The above numbers do not include these poems. In ancient indices, there are also given the number of half-verses, words and so on. There is another division into VIII *Aṣṭakas* (Octaves) and each such *Aṣṭaka* is again divided into eight *Adhyāyas* (Chapters), containing on the whole 2006 *Vargas* (Groups). This latter division is only for the purpose of study, as the first division into Books is not an equal one; here the parts are more or less of the same size. Even in the division into Books, there is another division of the Books into *Anuvākas,* the total number of such *Anuvākas* being 95. See *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* for further details.

Page 10(2). See *Vedas* Ch. IV. The *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* too gives various interesting facts about the authors, in Book V. The seven poets are Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, Vasiṣṭha and Kaṇva, for the seven Books from II to VIII. But in the latter part of Book VIII, members of other families too make their appearance; yet the Book is known as belonging to Kaṇva.

Page 11(3). The metres are analystd in the *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī,* Book VII. The subject matter has also been dealt with in the last Chapter (XII) of the *Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya* of Śaunaka, in the preliminary part of the *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana and in the *Nidānasūtras.* Piṅgala's *Chandoviciti* is supposed to be the Vedic treatise on metres; but it deals also with the Classical metres.

Page 13(3). The entire problem of metres is being worked out and the metres are being arranged by me according to their prosodial features, taking note of the lines and the construction of the verses.

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Page 14(3). Thus in the half-verse: *agnim īḷe purohitam yajñasya devam ṛtvijam* (I. 1.1), the word *yajñasya* is taken along with *ṛtvijam* and not with *purohitam*. Although Sāyaṇa takes the word along with *purohitam*, the two Mādhavas take the words in their order and so they get connected with *devam ṛtvijam*. Similarly in the half-verse *tisro dyāvaḥ savitur dvā upasthā eko yamasya bhuvane virāṣāt* (I. 35.) there is no euphonic combination between the final of the first line and the initial of the second line; to avoid the hiatus, the last syllable in the first line is nasalised. In the majority of cases, there is found such euphonic combination effected in the *Saṁhitā*, though the metres require that they be kept apart. Thus in the half-verse, *hiraṇyayena savitā rathenā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan* (I. 35.), there must be the long *ā* in the beginning of the second line, though that is merged in the final *ā* of the first line; otherwise the second line will have only 10 syllables.

Page 15(2). A *Pragātha* is a unit of two verses in which the first verse is either a *Bṛhatī* or a *Kakubh* and the second is a *Satobṛhatī*. The scheme will be; *Bṛhatī:* four lines of 8, 8, 12, 8, and *Satobṛhatī* four lines of 12, 8, 12, 8. *Kakubh:* three lines of 8, 12, 8, and *Satobṛhatī:* four lines of 12, 8, 12, 8. The *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* says that there are other combinations also in a *Pragātha*. Another combination is: *Mahā-bṛhatī:* five lines of 8, 8, 8, 8, 12, and *Mahāsatobṛhatī:* five lines of 12, 8, 12, 8. 8. The *Pragāthas* are found mainly in the Eighth Book and that Book is also known as the *Pragātha Maṇḍala*.

Page 15(3). Comparison with a chariot: *imam stomam arhate jātavedase ratham iva sam mehamā manīṣayā* (I-94-1).

Comparison with cutting the grass: *nāsatyābhyām baṛhir iva pra vṛñje stoma iyarmy abhriyeva vātaḥ* (I-116-1).

Page 15(4). Yāska makes this distinction. *tās trividhā ṛcaḥ parokṣakṛtāḥ pratyakṣakṛtāh ādhyātmikyaś ca* (VII-1).

Page 16(2). The poem beginning with; *indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam* (I-32) may be taken as a ballad song. The poems in the longer metres may be taken as sonnets in form. Thus *Atijagatī*, the shortest of the longer metres, has the scheme of 12, 12, 12, 8, 8, in five lines, and *Atidhṛti*, the longest of them, has the scheme of 12, 12, 8, 8, 8, 12, 8, 8, with eight lines. For the various metres, see the *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*, Book VI and notes. The important dialogue poems are Yama and Yamī (X-10), Indra, Indrāṇī and Vṛṣākapi (X-86) and Purūravas and Urvaśī (X-95). Wailing of a gambler (X-14), Wedding (X-85), Philosophical poems (I-164), (X-81, 82, 90, 121 and 129). For the philosophical poems see *The Poet-Philo-*

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sophers of the Ṛgveda—Vedic and pre-Vedic and *Asya Vāmasya Hymn.*

Page 16(4). The poem I-164 seems to have been recited by the poet Dīrghatamas sitting before the Altar. See Introduction to *Asya Vāmasya Hymn.* Nearly all the poems in Book II have the closing refrain, *bṛhad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ.*

Page 17(3). The entire material available in the *Ṛgveda* to judge the literary qualities of the Vedic poetry is being worked up into a book by me.

Page 18(3). Se *Vedas* (Ch. XI).

Page 19(1) and (2). See *Vedas* (Ch. VI).

Page 19(3). Maruts are like bride-grooms: *varā iva* (V-60-4). Uṣas is like a young lady groomed by her mother: *mātṛmṛṣṭeva yoṣā* (I-123-11).

Page 20(3). Yama saw the path for the first time: *yamo no gātum prathamo viveda* (X-14-2), *ubhā rājānā svadhayā madantā yamam paśyāsi varuṇam ca devam* (X-14-7). Aṅgirases are in heaven with Yama: *Yamo aṅgirobhih* (X-14-3). For gods in general, see *Vedas* (VI), where more details are given.

Page 21(2). For Nature in the *Ṛgveda,* see *Vedas* (Ch. X).

Page 22(2). For stories in the *Ṛgveda,* see *Vedas* (Ch. IX).

Page 23(3). The point has been dealt with in *Vedas* (Ch. I, iv, P. 7 ff).

Page 24(4). Books XV and XVI are in prose.

Page 25(4). Three *Vedas* are meant: *Brahmāṇo yasyām arcanty ṛgbhiḥ sāmnā yapurvidaḥ. yujyante yasyam rtvijah somam indraya pataye* (XII-1-38).

Page 28(2). The political poems are of special interest.

Page 29(2). The Ode on the Mother Earth (XII-1).

Page 32(3). The *Pūrvārcika* contains six *Prapāṭhakas,* divided into Poems as:

Prapāṭhaka	No. of Poems	Prapāṭhaka	No. of Poems
I	10	IV	10
II	10	V	10
III	10	VI	9

An analytical table is given in the edition of *Sama Veda* with two commentaries from the Adyar Library, at the end. Sāyaṇa adopts the text as consisting of five *Prapāṭhakas.* The First Book relates to Agni, Books II to IV to Indra and the last Book to Soma Pavamāna.

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This is followed by what is called the *Āraṇya Kāṇḍa,* which contains five *Daśatīs* or poems of ten verses. Then there is the *Mahānāmnī* with ten verses. The *Uttarārcika* contains 21 Chapters or *Adhyāyas;* each Chapter contains a few poems each consisting of a few *Ṛcas* or groups of three verses.

Page 33(2)ff. The *Black Yajurveda* is divided into seven Books and each Book into further subdivisions. The *White Yajurveda* is divided into 40 Chapters, the last being the *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad.* There is a view that among these, only the first 18 are genuine and original and that the rest came later. The chief topic of the *Yajurveda* is the *Soma Yāga* and its modifications like the *Rājasūya,* and with associated minor rituals like the New and the Full Sacrifices and the preparation of the Fire Altar. The *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* contains five Books. They are called I. *Iṭhinika,* II. *Mādhyamika,* III. *Ormika* and V. *Aśvamedhādyanuvacanāni.* Book IV named *Yājyānuvākya* is mentioned as included in the first three Books. These three contain 40 Chapters on the whole and the last contains 13 Chapters. In the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* there are three Books with a Supplement. The first three are *Ādima, Madhya* and *Upari* and the last is given as *Khila.* They contain 11, 13, 16 and 14 Chapters respectively. All the recensions start with *iṣe tvā;* but there are variations even in the beginning. Thus the *Maitrāyaṇī* begins: *iṣe tvā subhūtāya vāyava stha devo vaḥ savitā prārpayatu śreṣṭhatamāya karmaṇe.* The *Kāṭhaka* has: *iṣe tvorje tvā vāyavas sthopāyavas stha devo vaḥ savitā prārpayatu śreṣṭhatamāya karmaṇe.* This is how the others too start. The difference between the *Kāṇva* and the *Mādhyandina* of the *White Yajurveda* is very slight.

Page 38(3)ff. I have dealt with the problems relating to the *Upaniṣads* in the book *Some Aspects of Education in Ancient India.*

Page 42(3). Yāska cites Vedic passages as Atra Nigamaḥ, etc. and the *Brāhmaṇa* as *Iti vijñāyate,* etc.

Page 43(3). *Uru prathasva iti prathayati,* where *Uru prathasva* is the *Mantra* and *Iti prathayati* is its explanation, through its application, in the *Brāhmaṇa.*

Page 45(3). Preface to Vol. IV of the edition of Sāyaṇa, reproduced in Vol. IV of the second edition; here Max Muller elaborates his views first expressed in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* and replies the criticisms of scholars like Weber and Whitney.

Page 45(4). See Tilak's *Orion* and *The Arctic Home of the Vedas;* his first calculations are revised in the second book.

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Page 46 (2)f. Keith in his *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas,* and Winternitz in his *History of Sanskrit Literature,* give a good account of the various theories and modes of calculations. My own view is given in *Vedas.*

Page 48(3). See the Vedic passage; *catvāri vāk parimitā padāni tāni vidur brāhmaṇā ye manīṣiṇaḥ. guhā trīṇi nihitā neṅgayanti turīyam vāco manuṣyā vadanti* (R.V. I-164-45). See *Asya Vamasy Hymn.*

Page 49(1). *uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācam uta tvaḥ śṛṇvan na śṛṇoty enām. uto tvasmai tanvam visasre jāyeva patyur uśatī suvāsāḥ* (R. V. X-71-4). *akṣaṇvantaḥ karṇavantaḥ sakhāyo manojaveṣv asamā babhūvuḥ. ādaghnāsa upakakṣyāsa u tve hradā iva snātvā u tve dadṛśre* (X-71-7). The points are made clear in *The Poet Philosophers of the Ṛgveda.*

Page 49(2). The point is taken up in Yāska's *Nirukta* I-15 ff. Also in the *Mīmāṁsā Sūtras* I-ii-31 ff. There is the reference to the fixed order of words in this context: *niyatavācoyuktayaḥ* in the *Nirukta* and *vākyaniyamāt* in the *Mīmāṁsā.* They take it only in the ritualistic setting. I feel that the original intention was that poetry ceases to be poetry if the words and their orders are changed and that this is a principle in literary criticism originally, which became a ritualistic point later.

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III. ITIHASAS AND PURANAS

Page 53(3). See *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XI-v-6-8; 7, 9. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* I-i-29; *Sāṅkhyāyana Āraṇyaka* VIII-11; *Chāndogya* VII-i-2. See also *Some Aspects of Education in Ancient India.* The two words *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* occur in combination in these instances. They also appear separately in many places. In the *Mahābhārata,* etc. the two words are used indifferently to signify both the types. But I think that we can accept the position that in *Itihāsa,* the Story aspect is more prominent and in *Purāṇa,* the Lore aspect is more prominent. There is the famous verse: *sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca. vaṁśānucaritam caiva purāṇam pañcalakṣaṇam.*

Page 54(2). There are such prose portions in the First Book of the *Mahābhārata* and in the Fifth Book of the *Bhāgavata.*

Page 56(4). Bimbisara of Magadha offered him the kingdom.

Page 58(2). In the First Book there are prose portions. The philologists speak of an Epic Dialect in the Sanskrit language; there is no such dialect; it is only a language mannerism. It must also be taken note of that Pāṇini does not give any hint of a dialect different from Vedas and Bhāṣā. Patañjali does not cite a single usage from the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* or from any of the *Purāṇas* as deviations from the correct usage and try to give some explanation. It is very doubtful whether Patañjali knew the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* as we have them.

Page 60(3). The glorification is worth noting and practically everything is true.

Page 65(1). See Pāṇini VI-ii-38; Pāṇini knew a *Bhārata* and *Mahābhārata;* it must be a book.

Page 65(2). The poet who worked up the present *Mahābhārata* cannot be a contemporary of the events in the book.

Page 70(2). The epithet, *yasya bibhyati devāś ca jātaroṣasya saṁyuge,* given as the last qualification of a true hero for an epic, is very significant.

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Page 71(1). *yāvat sthāsyanti girayaḥ saritaś ca mahītale. tāvad rāmāyaṇa-kathā lokeṣu pracariṣyati (Rāmāyaṇa,* I-ii-36,37).

Page 71(2). It is held by modern scholars that the Incarnation Nature of Śri Rāma is a later change and that that portion is also a later addition to the text. I do not accept this position.

Page 73(2). The poet who wrote the *Rāmāyaṇa* cannot be a contemporary of the events.

Page 77(3). The eighteen *Purāṇas* are mentioned in the *Purāṇas* themselves; they all agree with very slight differences.

Page 78(3). They speak of sectarian *Purāṇas;* but they are not really so, in spite of the emphasis on this God or that God, as the Supreme One.

Page 79(2). In the Appendix some account of all the *Purāṇas* is given.

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IV. CLASSICAL AGE

Page 80(1). I feel that the Dāsas and the Dasyus were the people on the west and in their language the word Dahyu means a country. This is identical with Dasyu. The cerebral class in Sanskrit, not found in the Indo-European, is generally regarded as a development through contact with the Dravidian languages. There is the Dravidian word *Āṇi,* which means a nail, in the *Vedas* (R.V. I-35-6); the name like Irimbiṭhi, the name of a poet in Book VIII is also not Sanskritic and may be Dravidian. Kaṇva itself seems to be a Dravidian name. About *Pragāthas,* it is just a surmise.

Page 80(3). There were people who were called Yarvāṇastarvānas, who pronounced the word in this way, which is wrong. This is mentioned by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya;* they spoke the correct language in their rituals.

Page 81(3). Thus, in Kālidasa, Indra could not stand against Raghu with his advantage in position, being above, in relation to Raghu standing on the earth (Canto III); he wanted the aid of Duṣṣanta in the *Śākuntala* and of Purūravas in the *Vikramorvaśīya.*

Page 82(1). The names like Vṛtrahan, Purandara, Gotrabhid, Valārāti and Namucisūdana are reminiscent of his warrior exploits

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in the *Ṛgveda*. The story of Kāliya and of Govardhana are reminiscent of some of Indra's exploits in the *Ṛgveda*. Viṣṇu in the Classical Age has the Sudarśana as a Disc and Śārṅga as a bow and Kaumodakī as a Club. Marut means both wind and god in the Classical Sanskrit; see *vaimānikānām marutām apaśyad ākṛṣṭalīlān naralokapālān* (*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI-1).

Page 83. The dialogue of Yama and Yamī, and of Urvaśi and Purūravas, and of Romaśā and Bhāvayavya have elements of love poetry (R.V.X-10, X-85 and I-126-7). There are various other allusions also to love between man and woman and, in many cases, this is love outside wedlock, as the term *Jāra* clearly shows.

Page 84(2). The Ṛṣis lived in *Parṇaśālas* (sheds thatched with leaves). Kaṇva is the classical example of a Ṛṣi working for the marriage union. Viśvāmitra became the father of Śakuntalā, being enticed by Menakā. Vasiṣṭha had his consort Arundhatī.

Page 84(3). Thus, in the *Śākuntala*, the Ṛṣis had been performing the great *Sattra* to which they invited the hero, Duṣṣanta.

Page 85(2). Kauśikī, the Parivrājikā in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa and Kāmandakī and Avalokitā in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* are the classical examples.

Page 85(3). See *Vedas*, Ch. XII (iv) Para 30 ff. Pp. 181 ff. on caste.

Page 86(1). Droṇa and Aśvatthāma who are Brahmins, were the greatest among the warriors in the *Mahābhārata*. Vidura (not a Brahmin) and Sañjaya (also not a Brahmin) were among the wisest in the *Mahābhārata;* Cārudatta in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is a Brahmin engaged in commercial enterprises.

Page 86(2). *Jātaputraḥ kṛṣṇakeśaḥ agnīn ādadhati*. This is necessary for any further ritual.

Page 86(3). In the *Mahābhārata*, Draupadī questioned the right of Yudhiṣṭhira to pawn her and no one in the assembly could meet her challenge. Sāvitrī argued with Yama when her husband Satyavān was dead. In the *Vedas*, there were the warrior women in Apālā and Viśvavārā. In the *Purāṇas*, we find Śrī Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā driving a chariot in battle and Bhāmā his wife, fighting.

Page 88(1). The kings of Kerala had no throne and no umbrella and no crown.

Page 88(2). We see little reference to riding a horse. Even in Kālidāsa, it is only in canto IX of the *Raghuvaṁśa* that we find the hero on a horse-back, when Daśaratha started on his hunting expedition; otherwise all of them went in a chariot.

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Page 90(3). I have grave doubts whether there was any time when people actually lived like the Ṛṣis of the Classical Age, in thatched sheds and wearing tree-barks as robes (*Valkala*).

Page 91(1). There is no mention of Vimānas in the *Vedas* as the vehicle of gods.

Page 92(2). See *Sūtras* like *adhikṛtya kṛte granthe* (IV-iii-87) and the following.

Page 94(1). The explanation of *Sṛṅgāra* and *Vīra* may not be accepted by any one; but this is the distinction which Bharata had in his mind when he explained *Sṛṅgāra* as *Ujjvalaveṣātmaka* and *Vīra* as *Utsāhātmaka*. Amara mentions only 8 *Rasas*, without *Śānta*. The point is not that there is no mental state called *Śānta;* there is no such element as a factor in any known drama, and Bharata was dealing not with theoretical possibilities, but with actual facts available in literature.

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V. KALIDASA

Page 95(1). *purā kavīnām gaṇanāprasaṅge*
kaniṣṭhikādhiṣṭhitakālidāsā
adyāpi tattulyakaver abhāvād anāmikā sārthavatī babhūva
A Subhāṣita.

nirgatāsu na vā kasya kālidāsasya sūktiṣu
prītir madhurasāndrāsu mañjarīṣv iva jāyate
Harsacarita Preliminary, 16.

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bhāso hāsaḥ kavikulaguruḥ kālidāso vilāsaḥ
Prasannarāghava of Jayadeva.

Page 95(2). *Meghadūta,* I-27 to 38; *Raghuvaṁśa,* IV-67.

Page 95(3). *Meghadūta,* I-24:
tvam me prasādasumukhī bhava caṇḍi nityam
etāvad eva mṛgaye pratipakṣahetoḥ
āśāsyam ītivigamaprabhṛti prajānām
sampatsyate na khalu goptari nāgnimitre
Bharatavākya.

Page 96(2)ff. Jyotirvidābharaṇa has the verse: *dhanvantari - kṣapaṇakā - marasiṁha - bhaṭṭi - vetāla - śaṅku - ghaṭa-karpara - kālidāsāḥ khyāto varāhamihiro nṛpateḥ sabhāyām ratnāni vai vararucir nava vikramasya.*

Page 97(2). *athoṣadhīnām adhipasya vṛddhau tithau ca jāmitraguṇānvitāyām (Kumārasambhava,* VII. 1). *Vikramorvaśīya,* V. It is a Yavani who brings the bow. *Śākuntala,* II. The king enters surrounded by Yavanis.

Page 97(2). *tatra hūṇāvarodhānām: Raghuvaṁsa,* IV-68; *Buddhacarita,* III. 14-23; *Raghuvaṁśa,* VII-5 to 16; *Kumārasambhava,* VII-56 to 62.

Page 97(3). Kashmir, IV-67 (only Kāśmīra-saffron); Kāmboja, IV-69-81. Devadāru and Bhūrja, IV-73 and 76. Efflorescent plants, IV-75. Kumārasambhava I-10: Agricultural process, IV-37; Palm trees, IV-34 and VI-57; Betel creepers, IV-42 and VI-64; Sandal trees, IV-48 and VI-64; Elephants resting in shades of Sandal trees, IV-48; Kāverī, IV-45; Muralā, IV-55; Arecanuts and betel creepers, VI-64; Maidens in Persia, IV-61; The head-gear, IV-64; Horses, IV-62. In this section, all references are to *Raghuvaṁśa,* unless otherwise stated.

Page 99(1). *Prathitayaśasām bhāsasaumillakaviputrādīnām prabandhān atikramya vartamānakaveḥ kālidāsasya kriyāyām katham bahumānaḥ....purāṇam ity eva na sādhu sarvam na cāpi kāvyam navam ity avadyam. santaḥ parīkṣyānyatarad bhajante mūḍhaḥ parapratyayaneyabuddiḥ (Prastāvanā).*

Page 100(1). Puṣyamitra: See *prajñādurbalam ca baladarśanavyapadeśadarśitāśeṣasainyaḥ senānīr anāryo mouryam bṛhadratham pipeṣa puṣyamitraḥ svāminam—Harṣacarita, VI. Mauryasacivam vimuñcati yadi pūjyaḥ saṁyatam mama syālam* (I-7). *Bhavataḥ pitṛvyaputraḥ kumāro mādhavasenaḥ pratiśrutasambandhaḥ* (just before verse 7).

Page 101(1). Queen's annoyance: *yadi rājakāryeṣv īdṛśy upāyanipuṇatāryaputrasya tataḥ śobhanam bhavet* (towards the close.)

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Page 101(3). The description of the hero in modern works is extremely unfair.

Page 102(1). The description of Dhāriṇī's character in modern times is still more unfair.

Page 103(3). *praṇayiṣu vā dākṣiṇyād athavā sadvastubahumānāt śṛṇuta janā avadhānāt kriyām imām kālidāsasya.* Prologue.

Page 107(3). *abhirūpabhūyiṣṭhā pariṣad iyam; adya khalu kālidāsagrathitavastunā navena nāṭakenopasthātavyam asmābhih.* Prologue.

Page 118(2). This also seems to close the epic.

Page 118(4). Even some of the Pandits trained on traditional lines feel that there is a fall in the quality of poetry from the ninth canto. Mahamahopadhyaya R. V. Krishnamachari says: "But the ninth and the remaining cantos seem to have been written by some one else...there are various items of discord with the previous portion in various ways," etc. The relevant Sanskrit passage is cited by M. Krishnamachary in his *Sanskrit Literature*, P. 115. I am definite about it and I have made my point clear in my book on Kālidāsa.

Page 119(2). The remarks about the descriptions in later cantos represent the usually accepted view. My own view about such descriptions is made clear in my book on Kālidāsa.

Page 124(2). I am definite that the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* is not the work of Kālidāsa; I feel that the poet who composed the later cantos of the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IX to XVIII) may be the same as the author of the *Ṛtusaṁhāra.*

Page 127(4). Kālidāsa and Veda Vyāsa and Vālmīki. See *Dhvanyāloka: yenāsminn ativicitrakaviparamparāvāhini saṁsāre kālidāsaprabhṛtayo dvitrāḥ pañcaṣā vā mahākavaya iti gaṇyante* (under I-6) along with: *atha ca rāmāyaṇamahābhārataprabhṛtini lakṣye sarvatra prasiddhavyavahāram lakṣyatām* (under I-1).

VI. MAHAKAVYA

Page 130(1). See Bhāmaha, I-19 to 23; Daṇḍin, I-14 to 22.

Page 131(1).

ity eṣā vyupaśāntaye na rataye mokṣārthagarbhā kṛtiḥ
śrotṝṇām grahaṇārtham anyamanasām kāvyopacārāt kṛtā
yan mokṣāt kṛtam anyad atra hi mayā tat kāvyadharmāt kṛtam
pātum tiktam ivauṣadham madhuyutam hṛdyam katham syād iti
(XVIII-63).

The next verse too has more or less the same idea behind.

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Page 131(3). Now the text closes with 31 verees in Canto XIV.

Page 134(1). The verse is cited just above in 131(1).

Page 139(3). It is generally held that he belonged to the end of the sixth century as a contemporary of King Vishnu-Vardhana of the Pallavas whose friend he was; Daṇḍin is the great-grandson of Bhāravi's friend Dāmodara, and Daṇḍin's *Avantisundarīkathā* mentions Bāṇa of the first half of the seventh century. I have discussed the whole subject in my book on Bhāravi. See under Bhaṭṭi below.

Page 139(3). I feel that the following verse in the *Kirātārjunīya* is an allusion to the story of Rama Gupta and the Śaka king and Dhruvasvamini:

guṇānuraktām anuraktasādhanaḥ kulābhimānī kulajām narādhipaḥ
parais tvad anyaḥ ka ivāpahārayen manoramām ātmavadhūm iva śriyam (I-31).

Page 140(1). *sphuṭatā na padair apāhṛtā na ca na svīkṛtam arthagauravam*
racitā pṛthagarthatā girām na ca sāmarthyam apohitam padaiḥ (II-27).
Similar remarks are found later also. See XI-38 ff. and XIV-3 ff.

Page 142(2). See the description:
utphullasthalanalinīvanād amuṣmād uddhūtas sarasijasambavaḥ parāgaḥ. vātyābhir viyati vivartitaḥ samantād ādhatte kanakamayātapatralakṣmīm (V-39). For this description of the umbrella Bhāravi is known as Chatra (Umbrella) Bhārvi. Similarly, Kālidāsa is known as Dīpaśikhā Kālidāsa (Torchflame Kālidāsa) for his description during the wedding of Indumatī:

sañcāriṇī dīpaśikheva rātrau yam yam vyatīyāya patiṁvarā sā
narendramārgāṭṭa iva prapede vivarṇabhāvam sa sa bhūmipālaḥ (VI-67).

Māgha is also called Ghaṇṭā (Bell) Māgha; this point will be given in that context.

Page 143(2). *kāvyam idam racitam mayā valabhyām śrīdharasena-narendrapālitāyām* (XXII-35).
vyākhyāgamyam idam kāvyam utsavaḥ sudhiyām alam
hatā durmedhasaś cāsmin vidvatpriyatayā mayā (XXII-34).
kāvyāny api yadīmāni vyākhyāgamyāni śāstravat
utsavaḥ sudhiyām eva hanta durmedhaso hatāh (II-20).

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The reference in the verse:

śiṣṭaprayogamātreṇa nyāsakāramatena vā
tṛcā samastaṣaṣṭhīkam na kathañcid udāharet
(Bhāmaha, VI-36).

is definitely to the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi on the *Kāśikā;* so is the reference in Māgha:

anutsūtrapadanyāsā sadvṛttiḥ sannibandhanā
śabdavidyeva no bhāti rājanītir apaspaśā (II-112).

Bhaṭṭi is in the middle of the sixth century. Bhāmaha is earlier than Bhaṭṭi and *Nyāsa* is earlier than Bhāmaha; *Nyāsa* is a commentary on the *Kāśikā* and the *Kāśikā* cites from Bhāravi under I. iii. 23. So Bhāravi must be early in the fifth century. If Daṇḍin who wrote the *Avantisundarīkathā* is later than Bāṇa, then there is a difference of nearly two centuries between Bhāravi and Daṇḍin, and Daṇḍin's great-grand-father is Bhāravi's friend. This is not impossible, as Daṇḍin is the last of seven children, and his father is the last son among three and the grand-father is the second son; further, Bhāravi's friend was a young man and as such may be much younger than Bhāravi. There is the difficulty of Vishnuvardhana of the Pallavas, who is given as the friend of Bhāravi and Dāmodara. The only possibility is that this Vishnuvardhana is not the king of that name in the last quarter of the sixth century, but a much later one.

Page 144(2). *Daṇḍinaḥ padalālityam Bhāraver arthagauravam*
upamā Kālidāsasya Māghasyaitat trayam bhavet.
tāvad bhā bhāraver bhāti yāvan māghasya nodayaḥ.
navasargagate māghe navaśabdo na vidyate.

Page 145(3). There is *Yamaka* in the Fifth Canto.

Page 146(1). By the following description of the Raivataka, he is known as ghaṇṭā Māgha:

udayati vitatordhvaraśmirajjāv ahimarucau himadhāmni
yāti cāstam
vahati girir ayam vilambighaṇṭādvayaparivāritavāraṇendra-
līlām
(IV-20).

Page 146(4). *udite naiṣadhe kāvye kva māghaḥ kva ca bhāraviḥ* (this is the second half of the verse cited above).
naiṣadham vidvadauṣadham.

Page 153(3). *Kirātārjunīya* has such artificialities in the 15th Canto and Māgha in the 19th Canto.

Page 155(2). *na sthāṇor ayam aparādhah yad andho nainam paśyati.*

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VII. DRAMA

Page 156(2). There is also the word *nṛtyatām* (of those who were dancing), X-72-6.

Page 157(1). Pāṇini mentions texts about actors: *pārāśarya-śilālibhyām bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoḥ* (IV-3-110).

Page 157(3). *sūtradhārakṛtārambhair nāṭakair bahubhūmikaiḥ sapatākair yaśo lebhe bhāso devakulair iva:*

Harṣacarita, Introductory, 15.

bhāsanāṭakacakre tu cekaiḥ kṣipte parīkṣitum
svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako 'bhūn na pāvakaḥ:

Kāvyamīmaṁsa.

Page 158(1). *bhāso hāsaḥ kavikulaguruḥ kālidāso vilāsaḥ.*

Page 158(2). IV-39 ff. in Bhāmaha. There is a drama called *Vīṇāvāsavadatta* and it is likely that Bhāmaha's criticism is on this and that the drama now available as *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* is a revision in the light of the criticism of Bhāmaha. A part in the beginning of this drama has been edited and published serially in *The Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras, by me and later issued as a separate book in 1931.

Page 160(2). For the criticism of this work, see Note on P. 158. The Third Act, known as *Mantrāṅka,* is very popular in Kerala and I knew the whole of it long before Bhāsa became known through the dramas published from Trivandrum.

Page 162(2). *Cārudatta* is definitely the first four Acts of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and it can have no relation to Bhāsa, unless the *Mṛchhakaṭika* is proved to be by Bhāsa. It must be noted that the technique of Bhāsa's dramas found in Bāṇa's description is found fully only in this drama among Sanskrit dramas and not in any one of what are given out as Bhāsa's dramas. And the authorship of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is yet to be decided. See P. 163, paras 2, 3.

Page 168(3). *avantipuryām dvijasārthavāho yuvā daridraḥ kila cārudattaḥ*
guṇānuraktā gaṇikā ca tasya vasantaśobheva vasantasenā.
tayor idam satsuratotsavāśrayam nayapracāram vyavahāraduṣṭatām
khalasvabhāvam bhavitavyatām tathā cakāra sarvam kila śūdrako nṛpaḥ.

Page 169(1). Details about Harṣa are given under Bāṇa below on P. 205.

Page 169(2). See *Kāvyaprakāśa: kāvyam yaśase'rthakṛte—śrīharṣāder dhāvakādīnām iva dhanam,* for which the commentator

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says: *dhāvakaḥ kaviḥ. sa hi śrīharṣanāmnā ratnāvalīm kṛtvā bahudhanam labdhavān iti prasiddhiḥ* (I-2). This is by Nageśa. There is also a tradition that it was the *Priyadarśikā* that was made by Dhāvaka, and my comments are based on that tradition. My remarks have no application if it is the *Ratnāvalī,* which is a really good drama. The statement, made on the basis of the tradition known to be, must be properly revised.

Even if Harṣa wrote the *Priyadarśikā* and Dhāvaka wrote the *Ratnāvalī* in the name of Harṣa, there are difficulties. If Harṣa had written the *Priyadarśikā* and if Dhāvaka adapted the theme for his new drama, the *Ratnāvalī,* it is very difficult to believe that Harṣa allowed his own work to see the light of day by the side of his rival drama. It is impossible that Dhāvaka first wrote the *Ratnāvalī* and that Harṣa later wrote his *Priyadarśika* with the same story in a new form. Harṣa should have known that his own work was inferior in quality in relation to the work of Dhāvaka. If Harṣa first wrote the *Priyadarśikā* and then wrote a better drama, the *Ratnāvalī,* I can understand how a Court poet later claimed the better of the two as his own and spread the story that he received rewards for the *Ratnāvalī,* which was passed on as Harṣa's work.

Page 172(2). Here also the statement about *Priyadarśikā* must be duly revised.

Page 173(2). At that time it is very doubtful if there was any such distinction like Hindu and Buddhistic. Harṣa himself was both. He was a staunch Hindu, and Buddhists worship him as their great patron.

Page 174(1). The drama *Nāgānanda* has been very popular on the Kerala stage and the scene of the heroine committing suicide is one of the chief ones presented on the stage.

Page 174(2). The scene where Garuḍa comes and takes away the hero by mistake is equally popular on the Kerala stage.

Page 175(2). Note the words of the mother: *hā putraka jīmūtavāhana yasmai te gurujanaśuśrūṣāṁ varjayitvānyat sukham na rocate sa katham idānīm pitaram ujjhitvā svargasaukhyam anubhavitum prasthito 'si* (under V-13, *bhaktyā vidūra,* etc.). The neglect of the parents and duty to them and the eagerness to save others and reach heaven are clear in the passage.

Page 176(1). I know that my interpretation of the philosophy of life in the *Nāgānanda* will not be accepted; the whole matter will be made clear, so far as my position goes, in my forthcoming book on Harṣa. I am definite on the point.

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Page 177(1). Malayaketu as a mistake for Salayaketu, and the identification of Seleukos with Salayaketu, are quite convincing. But there is the difficulty of Parvateśvara.

Page 178(1). Note the passages: *so 'yam vyāyāmakālaḥ; notsavakālaḥ. iti durgasaṁskāre prārabdhavye kim kaumudīmahotsaveneti pratiṣiddhaḥ*—under III-24 (*ambhodhīnām*, etc.) and *durātman rākṣasa, dṛśyase bhoḥ jāgarti khalu kauṭilyaḥ*—under III-23 (*bhūṣaṇādyupabhogena*).

Page 179(1). The final benediction is:

vārāhīm ātmayones tanum avanavidhāv āsthitasyānurūpam
yasya prāgdantakoṭim pralayaparigatā śiśriye bhūtadhātrī
mlecchair udvijyamānā bhujayugam adhunā saṁśritā
rājamūrteḥ
sa śrīmadbandhubhṛtyaś ciram avatu mahīm pārthivaś
candraguptaḥ.

The term *adhunā* is very significant. This may be compared to the final benediction in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Both the dramas represent contemporary events on the stage, relating to the ruling king. There is an alternative reading *avantivarmā* for *candraguptaḥ*.

There is another drama by Viśakhadatta; see Appendix for a short note.

Page 180(3). Note the passage: Karṇa says—

jātyā kāmam avadhyo 'si caraṇan tv imam uddhṛtam
anena lūnam khaḍgena patitam vetsyasi kṣitau (III-41).

And Aśvatthāma says—*are mūḍha kim nāma jātyā kāmam avadhyo 'ham. iyam sā jātis tyaktā (iti yajñopavītam chinatti)*. The immediate point is about Karṇa killing Aśvatthāma for his insulting words. But the context is about the claim of Aśvatthāma to lead the army, as much as Karṇa.

Page 181(3). Both the *Mudrārākṣasa* and the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* are War dramas. In one we see that War and in the other we see post-war stategy.

Page 183(2). The tradition is that when Bhavabhūti wrote the drama, he sent it to Kālidāsa for his opinion before he could presen it to the Assembly of Bhoja. The disciple of Bhavabhūti read out the whole drama and Kālidāsa listened to it to the end and said something. When the disciple reported the matter, Bhavabhūti tore off the whole drama. Next day Bhoja asked the scholars what the best literary production was on that day and Kālidāsa replied—*uttare rāmacarite bhavabhūtir viśiṣyate*. When Bhoja asked Bhava-

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bhūti to read it, he said that he had destroyed it; then Kālidāsa recited the whole poem. Later when Bhavabhūti asked Kālidāsa why he said nothing when the drama was read out to him, he replied that he had made a remark that there is one *Anusvāra* too much. The context is the verse—*aviditagatayāmā ratrir evam vyaraṁsīt.* This means that in that way, the night came to a close. Kālidāsa said that it should be *ratrir eva* (without the *Anusvāra*) in which case the meaning would be "only the night ended" and not their talk. Now it happened that at that time Kālidāsa's wife had prepared betel leaf for Kālidāsa to chew; the disciple thought that the remark was about the betel leaf in which there was too much of lime (*sunna*, which means both lime and an *Anusvāra*).

There is a similar story about Māgha and Kālidāsa. When Māgha recited his poem, even in the first verse, there is a slight flaw in cadence. The context is that Nārada was descending from the heaven and the words: *ambarād dhiraṇyagarbhāṅgabhuvam* contains the rather unpleasant sound *ddhi* in the middle of a very flowing verse. Kālidāsa kept his hand on his head, as if Nārada was falling on his head. Māgha was very much upset and he stopped reciting it. He decided to kill Kālidāsa by throwing a stone on his head when he would be returning and went up a tree on his path with a big stone in his hand. Kālidāsa had already sent word to Māgha about the excellence of the poem when his views were sought. Kālidāsa had some supernatural powers and he knew of his danger; so he walked along the path reciting some of the best pieces of the poem with a very appreciative nod of his head and when he came to the tree, Māgha heard his recitations and noticed his appreciations. He came down and apologised. Kālidāsa explained his behaviour in the Assembly by saying that if Māgha had recited the whole poem, Kālidāsa's own position there would be in danger. They became great friends again.

Page 183(3). The verse is: *tapasvī kām gato 'vasthām iti smerānanāv iva. girijāyāḥ stanau vande bhavabhūtisiṭānanau.*

Page 184(1). Citsukha says that because Bhavabhūti wrote dramas later it does not mean that he had ceased to be an *Āpta* (trustworthy authority) who had earlier written very authoritative works on *Śāstras.*

The verse in the Prologue may be noted: *ye nāma kecid iha naḥ prathayanty avajñām jānanti te kimapi tān prati neiṣa yatnaḥ. utpaśyate mama tu ko 'pi samānadharmā kālo hy asau niravadhir vipulā ca pṛthvī.* Note the passage in the *Uttararāmacarita: yathā strīṇam tathā vācām sādhutve durjano janaḥ.*

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Page 184(2). Bhavabhūti is identified with the Mīmāṁsaka Uṁveka, who is identified with Maṇḍanamiśra and it is said that he later became a disciple of Śaṅkara. The whole problem is presented by Mahamahopadhyaya S. Kuppuswami Sastry in his Introduction to the *Brahmasiddhi,* Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The difficulties in this identification are pointed out by me in the Introduction to the edition of the *Ślokavārtika* with the commentary of Uṁveka in the Madras University Sanskrit Series. The point is discussed in other places also; but these two places give a clear picture of the entire problem.

Page 188(3). The conflict between Śrī Rāma the king and Śrī Rāma the person, between the private and the public life of Śrī Rāma, is the real centre of interest in the drama.

Page 197(2). The points have been already noticed above. See P. 91(1).

VIII. PROSE

Page 199(1). The general scheme of an *Āryā* is: Line One, Three, 3 feet of four *Mātrās* (total 12) each, Line Two, 4 feet of four *Mātrās* and one foot of two *Mātrās* (total 18) and Line Four, 3 feet of four *Mātrās,* one foot of two *Mātrās* and one foot of one *Mātrā* (total 15).

Page 205(1). There is the saying: *bāṇocchiṣṭam jagat sarvam.*

Page 211(3). There is the verse: *trayo 'gnayas trayo devās trayo vēdās trayo guṇāḥ. trayo daṇḍiprabandhāś ca triṣu lokeṣu viśrutāḥ* in *Hārāvalī.*

There is a note in the Appendix about *Avantisundarīkathā.*

Page 219(3). The artificialities in language is found in other patterns of art also like dancing and music and painting and sculpture. There is an effort in them to show off the ability of the artist in handling his medium.

IX. MINOR TYPES

Page 220(1). See Daṇḍin, I-23 ff.; Bhāmaha, I-25 ff.

Page 222(3). See: *ity ākhyāte pavanatanayam maithilīvonmukhī sā—Meghadūta,* II-37. For Śyāvāśva, see Sāyaṇa and Skandasvāmin on R.V. V-61; also *Vedas* Ch. Para 47. The Bṛhaddevatā also narrates the story in this context.

Page 224(2). *Cakorasandeśa* by Vāsudeva of Payyūr (not yet published) has the message of the heroine to the hero. *Haṁsasandeśa* of Vedāntadeśika has a philosophical touch.

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Page 227(2). The two verse sare:

(a) *agre dīrghataro 'yam arjunatarus tasyāgrato vartanī*
sā ghoṣam samupaiti tatparisare ramyā kalindātmajā.
tasyās tīratamālakānanataṭe cakram gavām cārayan
gopas tiṣṭhati darśayiṣyati sakhe panthānam avyākulam.

(b) *param imam upadeśam ādriyaddhvam*
nigamavaneṣu nitāntacārakhinnāḥ
vicinuta bhavaneṣu vallavīnām
upaniṣadartham ulūkhale nibaddham.

Page 228(3). The verse is:

kaṣṭā te ṣṛṣticeṣṭā bahutarabhavakhedāvahā jīvabhājām
ity evam pūrvam ālocitam ajita mayā naivam adyābhijāne.
no cej jīvāḥ katham vā madhurataram idam tvadavapuś
cidrasārdram
netraiś śrotraiś ca pītvā paramarasasudhāmbhodhipūre
rameran.
(First *Daśaka*).

Page 229(1). The verses are:

Tat tādṛṅmadhurātmakam tava vapuḥ samprāpya sam-
panmayī
sā devī paramotsukā cirataram nāste svabhakteṣv api.
Tenāsyā bata kaṣṭam acyuta vibho tvadrūpamānojñaka-
premasthairyamayād acāpalabalāc cāpalyavārtodabhūt.
Lakṣmīs tāvakarāmaṇīyakahṛtaiveyam pareṣv asthirety
asminn anyad api pramāṇam adhunā vakṣyāmi lakṣmīpate !
Ye tvaddhyānaguṇānukīrtanarasāsaktā hi bhaktā janās
teṣv esā vasati sthiraiva dayitaprastāvadattādarā.
(Second *Daśaka*).

Page 230(1). The first two verses are:

Jyākṛṣṭibaddhakaṭakāmukhapāṇipṛṣṭha
preṅkhannakhāṁśucayasaṁvalito mṛḍānyāḥ
Tvām pātu mañjaritapallavakarṇapūra
lobhabhramadbhramaravibhramabhṛt kaṭākṣaḥ.
kṣipto hastāvalagnaḥ prasabham abhihato 'py ādadāno'
ṁśukāntam
gṛhṇan keśeṣv apāstas caraṇanipatito nekṣitaḥ sambhrameṇa,
āliṅgan yo 'vadhūtas tripurayuvatibhiḥ sāśrunetrotpalābhiḥ
kāmīvārdrāparādhas sa dahatu duritam śāmbhavo vaḥ
śarāgniḥ.

Page 231(2). Bhartṛhari is quoted by a commentator of the *Nirukta*, who must be round about 600 A.D.; there is also a citation from Bhartṛhari by another, the commentator of the *Śatapathabrāh-*

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maṇa, named Harisvāmin, who also lived at about the same time, both being disciples of Skandasvāmin, the commentator of the *Ṛgveda*. See also Bruno Liebich in his edition of *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇi*.

Page 232(2). Bhāravi and Māgha adopt this device in their Grand poems, already noted.

Page 241(2). The five sections are: *Mitrabheda, Mitralābha, Sandhivigraha, Labdhapraṇāśa* and *Asamprekṣyakāritva*.

X. MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

Page 243(2). I cite two passages to show the literary quality of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya:*

(a) *keśān kāśaprakāśān pracaladalinibhāṁs tatkṣaṇād eva kuryāt.*

(b) *acintayā harṣaṇena param santarpaṇena ca*
svapnaprasaṅgāc ca naro varāha iva puṣyati.

These are the good results of some medicines.

Page 245(2). See the first verse in the *Vākyapadīya;*
anādinidhanam brahma śabdatattvam yad akṣaram
vivartate 'rthabhāvena prakriyā jagato yataḥ. (I-1).

See for the nature of a sentence the words of Yāska: *indriyanityam vacanam audumbarāyaṇaḥ* (I. 1.) Also Bhartṛhari in the *Vākyapadīya*, II:

vākyasya buddhau nityatvam arthayogam ca laukikam.
dṛṣṭvā catuṣṭvam nāstīti vārtākṣaudumbarāyaṇau.

This is what is continued in the philosophy of Prabhākara, what is known as the *anvitābhidhāna mata.* The other is called *abhihitānvaya mata.*

Derivations of nouns: this is discussed in the *Nirukta* under: *nāmāny ākhyātajānīti śākaṭāyano nairuktasamayaś ca* (I-12). In later grammatical literature there are the two views about the prepositions being *abhidhāyakas* or *dyotakas.*

Kriyānvayitva is the theory held by the Mīmāṁsakas. Prabhākara holds that there is *Śābdabodha* only if there is *kriyānvayitva* (and *kriyā* is a command).

Page 246(2). Grammatical analysis of a word is only for practical purposes (*vyavahārārtha*). See Yāksa, I-2.

Page 246(3). There is the saying: *mātrālābhaḥ putralābha iva manyante vaiyākaraṇaiḥ.*

Page 246(4). He calls the language as *Bhāṣā.* According to tradition, Pāṇini's grammar is one of the *Vedāṅgas*, the Vedic grammar. Kātyāyana's *Vārtika* must have been an elaborate study

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of Pāṇini's *Sūtras;* but only some passages, as cited by Patañjali, are now available.

Page 247(1). The tradition is: *Munīnām uttarottaram prāmāṇyam. Munitraya* is the basis for Grammar. *Aruṇad yavanaḥ sāketam,* where the iorist shows that the event was known to Patañjali. But if it is a popular statement current in his time, he is later and need not be a contemporary of the event. Similar is the case with the sentence: *iha puṣyamitram yājayāmaḥ,* which might have become a popular statement meaning that they are stuck at the place on account of some unending work.

Page 247(3). See under Bhaṭṭi for the date of *Kāśikā* and *Nyāsa.*

Page 248(1). *Rūpāvatāra* has a few commentaries, and the best known is what is called the *Nīvī.*

Page 248(3). There is the rule: *vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattiḥ; na tu sandehād alakṣaṇam.* If there is a conflict between a rule and a fact and if thereby there is doubt about its authority, there must be interpretation.

Page 249(2). *Kātantra* has been noticed under Guṇādhya, dealing with stories, above.

Page 250(1). Three kinds of feet are:

(a) *Ma;* all the three are long and *Na;* all the three are short.

(b) *Bha, Ja, Sa:* One long in the beginning, in the middle and in the end respectively with two short syllables.

(c) *Ya, Ra, Ta:* One short syllable in the beginning, in the middle and in the end respectively, with two long syllables.

Page 250(2). The only difference between *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā* is that in the *Indravajrā* the first syllable is long while in the *Upendravajrā* it is short.

Page 251(2). The problem of metres has not been critically examined either for the *Vedas* or for the Classical Sanskrit. See my articles in the *Journal of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library,* Vol. I. No. 1 and *Sarūpabhāratī* (Commemoration volume for Laksman Sarup).

Page 252(1). See P. 49(1).

Page 252(2). See P. 49(2).

Page 252(3) and (4). This is the substance of the first chapter in Bharata.

Page 253(2). The real meaning of the term *Rasa* is "beauty".

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Page 254(2). The distinction between *Śṛṅgāra* and *Vīra* has been given by me even in the earlier chapters [P. 94(1) and 197(2)] and also in other books (*Kālidāsa,* Preface: P. viii).

Page 255(3). For *Lakṣaṇas, Alamkāras, Doṣas and Guṇas,* see Ch. XVI (Kāvyamālā Edition) and also see *Sāṅgītarāja,* Part I, published from Bikaner.

Page 256(1). See Daṇḍin:

idam andhaṁ taṁaḥ kṛtsnam jāyeta bhuvanatrayam
yadi śabdāhvayam jyotir āsaṁsāram na dīpyate.
ādirājayaśorūpam ādarśam prāpya vāṅmayam
teṣām asannidhāne 'pi na svayam paśya naśyati (I-4,5).

Also Bhāmaha, I-2 to 9, *Kāvyaprakāśa* says:

niyatikṛtaniyamarahitām hlādaikamayīm ananyaparatantrām
navarasarucirām nirmitim ādadhatī bhāratī kaver jayati (I-1).

They all give importance to imagination. Ānandavardhana also gives imagination its due place in a poet:

sarasvatī svādu tadarthavastu niṣṣyandamānā mahatām kavīnām
alokasāmānyam abhivyanakti parisphurantam pratibhāviśeṣam.

in I-6 and later in many places. What is important in the context is that even those known as formal critics accept this element.

Page 256(2). This is what Ānandavardhana says: *kāvyasyātmā dhvanir iti budhair yaḥ samāmnātapūrvaḥ.* This goes back to the Vedic age, as has been said many times above in this book [P. 48(3) and 49].

Page 257(1). There are the Schools of *Vakrokti* by Kuntaka and *Anumāna* by Mahima Bhaṭṭa (in the *Vakroktijīvita* and *Vyaktiviveka*).

Page 257(2). Ānandavardhana was the first to formulate it: *aṇīyasībhir api cirantanakāvyalakṣaṇavidhāyinām buddhibhir anunmīlitapūrvam* (under I-1).

The theories of the Mīmāṁsakas and the Vaiśeṣikas are discussed in Book III. For his view about poetry that does not have any *Dhvani,* see III-43 and comment thereon.

There is the *Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya.* It was said that what is termed *Dhvanikāvya* must have *Dhvani* as the major with language and expressed meaning as susidiaries (I-13). The acceptance of *Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya* is a compromise to this initial position. But even

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a *Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya Kāvya* is *Kāvya* on account of the *Vyaṅgya* element and to this extent there is no compromise.

The variety in the same matter is explained later in IV Udyota.

Now they speak of some other schools of literary criticism. They speak of Bhāmaha as the exponent of the *Alamkāra* School, Daṇḍin of the *Guṇa* School and Vāmana as of the *Rīti* School. But they do not say to which of them later writers like Udbhaṭa and Vāgbhaṭa belong. It must also be noted that they do not say that the particular point is the major one and that the other points are subsidiary to it. They have only the three main points, namely, *Guṇa, Doṣa* and *Alamkāra,* each related to language and sense. Further it must also be noted that the number of *Alamkāras* in the exponent of the *Alamkāra* School, Bhāmaha, is far less than what is found in Daṇḍin, who expounds the *Guṇa* school.

Page 258(1). Abhinavagupta mentions three of his predecessors in the matter of explaining the aesthetic enjoyment (*Rasāsvāda*). They are Lollaṭa who has developed the super-imposition or generation theory, Śaṅkuka who has developed the inference theory and Bhaṭṭanāyaka with his *Bhāvakatva* theory (enjoyment). Abhinavagupta has his own theory of universalisation, which is also a factor in Bhaṭṭanāyaka. The matter cannot be discussed here (See Abhinavabhāratī under the *Rasa Sutra*).

Page 259(2). The *Saṅgītaratnākara* with the commentaries of Kallinātha and Siṁhabhūpāla has been published from the Adyar Library; the first three volumes were seen through the press by me. The first chapter was translated by me and the last chapter by Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja and Mrs. Radha Bernier, both published from the Adyar Library. The *Rāgavibodha* and the *Svaramelakalānidhi* are edited by M. S. Ramaswami Iyer and the former is published also from the Adyar Library, seen through the press by me. The *Saṅgītarāja* has been edited by me for the first Book and published from Bikaner. For the rest there are only manuscripts; I have a complete set.

Page 259(3). The subjects included by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* became distributed into separate disciplines like the *Saṅgīta Śāstra,* the *Abhinaya Śāstra* and *Alamkāra Śāstra.* The Dramas were treated separately in certain works while they were included in other works on *Alamkāra* like the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa. Saṅgīta* and *Abhinaya* were never included in the *Alamkāra Śāstra,* though facts relating to *Alamkāra* were included in the *Prabandha* portion of *Saṅgīta* works like the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Saṅgītarāja* (called *Paṭhya*).

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Page 261(4). *Puruṣa* as a separate category is a later addition to the theory. I think that the poem in the *Ṛgveda* beginning with *nāsad āsīt* is the origin of the *Sāṅkhya* theory. In the *Vedas* there is no such distinction between Matter and Spirit that can be separated. The point has been developed in the *Poet-philosophers in the Ṛgveda*. The medieval commentators have further altered the doctrines when they interpreted the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*. I have indicated it in *Some Fundamental Problems of Indian Philosophy*.

Page 263(1). The *Nyāya* started on the analysis of the mental process of knowing and the *Vaiśeṣika* started on the analysis of the objects known. This is the fundamental difference.

Page 264(3). Though there is the recognition of scripture as a source of valid knowledge in the *Sāṅkhya* and in the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems, all twenty-five categories of the *Sāṅkhya* and the the six (or seven including negation) of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* are within the sphere of perception and reason. But the main subject of the *Mīmāṁsā* and of the *Vedānta*, Dharma and Brahman, comes only within scripture and transcend the sphere of perception and reason.

Page 265(2). According to Prabhākara, there is no downfall. There is only progression or stand-still. A *Sarvajña* is not recognised in *Mīmāṁsā*. God is not denied absolutely; those who have a feeling of god within can do so. God cannot be proved as creator or as the maker and regulator of the Law; this is all that the *Mīmāṁsā* says.

Page 265(3). The relation of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Prabhākara and Śālikanātha is still a matter of controversy. It is held that Prabhākara was a disciple of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and that Śālikanātha was a disciple of Prabhākara. The former is accepted in tradition; for the latter there is no proof and the probability is the other way. Śālikanātha may be much later. See Introduction to the edition of the *Ślokavārtika* with the commentary of Umveka in the *Madras University Sanskrit Series*.

Page 266(1). The three schools now hold that only one is true and the other two are wrong. Each of them holds this view. These in truth are only three ways of expressing in language what is beyond the capacity of language to express. By saying that one is true and the others are wrong, the advocates of each of the three systems drag the Absolute, which is beyond the right cognition of man's limited mind, into the sphere of such limited mind.

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Page 267(1). In the *Advaita* and *Viśiṣṭādvaita*, Intelligence is the source, while in the *Sāṅkhya, Nyāya* and *Dvaita Vedānta*, the world is parallel to the Intelligence.

Page 267(2). The point is made clear in *Poet-Philosophers of the Ṛgveda.*

Page 269(2). The theory of a feud between the earlier Vedic religion and Buddhism, and the persecution of Buddhism and its final exile are all modern figments.

Page 271(2). The idol is not a symbol of God; God is in the idol, rather, the Idol is God Himself.

Page 271(3). There is no hint that the Law (*Ṛta*) is a creation of God, in the *Veda.* Gods knew the Law, they worked the Law, they protected the Law.

Page 272(1). *Athātaḥ sāmayācārikān dharmān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* (*Āpastambha Dharma Sutra*).

Page 272(4). The philosophy of Law and the true principles of Jurisprudence have not yet been presented in their true nature in modern times.

Page 273(3). Tilak explains the evidences for the position of the Sun among the constellations on the day of the Equinox, in his two books, the *Orion* and the *Arctic Home of the Vedas.*

Page 274(1). It was only in India that there was such a correlation of the various calendars into a single system.

Page 274(2). See P. 97(2).

Page 274(3). Ārya Bhaṭa gives the date of his birth as:

ṣaṣṭyabdānām ṣaṣṭir yadā vyatītās trayaś ca yugapādāḥ
tryadhikā viṁśatir abdās tadādya mama janmano yātāḥ.

This year is 499 A.D., when he was twenty-three years old.

Varāhamihira must have been a younger contemporary of Ārya Bhaṭa. He criticises Ārya Bhaṭa's novel theories. The five *Siddhāntas* are *Paitāmaha, Vāsiṣṭha, Romaśa, Pauliśa* and *Sūrya.*

Page 275(1). Varāha may be Barham, which is the original Vṛtraghna in the *Vedas.* Mihira is Mitra; the word itself came into Sanskrit as a synonym of the Sun, as in *Amara Kośa; Vikartanā-rka-mārtāṇḍa-mihirā-ruṇa-pūṣaṇaḥ* (I-ii.39).

Page 275(3). The numerals are known to the Arabs as Indian.

Page 275(1). The knowledge of the precession of the Equinox by the ancient Indians is being questioned in recent times. They say that the New Year of the present Indian calendar is a little over twenty days after the due date, that is, the Vernal Equinox is on

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the 21st of March; the New Year is about the 14th of April. The fact is that *Caitra* is made the first month when the Vernal Equinox shifted back to Aśvin. Now when it shifts back further by a full House of the Zodiac, then *Phālguna* will have to start the year. That is yet a few centuries later.

Page 277(3). *Avesta* too has the three modes of *Baeṣaza, Manthra* and *Karetana* (cutting or surgery), as the remedies.

Page 277(4). The physiology and pathology of *Āyurveda* has not yet been properly presented. The equation of the *Pañca-bhūtas* and the *Tridoṣas* has not been properly studied.

Page 278(3). For brevity and clarity in directions, see; *tvantāthādi na pūrvabhāk* (I-i-5).

For beautiful explanations of terms, see:

(a) *deśo nadyambuvṛṣṭyambusampannavrīhipālitaḥ*
syān nadīmātṛko devamātṛkaś ca yathākramam (II-i-12).

(b) *atha rājakam. rājanyakam ca nṛpatikṣatriyāṇām gaṇe*
kramāt (II-viii-3, 4).

Page 279(2). Recently there has come out an excellent edition of the *Kāmasutra* in English translation with a very scholarly Introduction by Dr. S. C. Upadhaya of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Bombay, published by Taraporevala.

Page 280(2). Seventh *Adhyāya* in the *Cikitsā Sthāna.*

Page 280(3). They were using such toilette articles even in the Vedic times. The *Abhyañjana* mentioned in the *Ṛgveda,* VIII-3-24 and VIII-78-2 and X-85-7, must be a toilette article.

Page 281(1). The *Bhāvaprakāśa* has the following verse, indicating an event in the *Svapnavāsavadatta:*

padmāvatyā mukham vīkṣya viśeṣakavibhūṣitam
jīvaty āvantikety evam jñātam bhūmibhujo yathā.

Page 281(2). Bharata compares the flavour which an expert cook is able to produce by various ingredients to the production of *Rasa* by the admixture of the elements of *Vibhāva, Anubhāva* and *Vyabhicāri;* this is his famous *Rasasūtra.*

Page 281(4). See *Mṛcchakaṭika* III-10 ff, where there is a good description of the methods to be adopted in burglary, and also there is mention of the authorities on this subject. There must have been a good literature; the commentator also makes allusions to them.

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APPENDIX

(Supplementary Notices)

II. VEDAS

Original Texts (Mantra)

The *Ṛgveda* had five recensions; *Śākala, Bāṣkala, Āśvalāyana, Sāṅkhyāyana* and *Māndūkya.* Only the *Śākala* recension remains now. Śākalya fixed the Pada Text of the *Ṛgveda.* Later grammarians mention Śākalya. The commentators of the *Ṛgveda* also refer to Śākalya when they deal with points of the Pada Text. There is a *Sāṅkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa* and also the *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya Sūtras* for *Āśvalāyana* and for *Sāṅkhyāyana* there is the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa:* it is not quite certain whether it is a distinct Text or is only another name for the *Sāṅkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa;* this latter is the generally accepted view.

The *Sāmaveda* has the *Kauthūma,* the *Jaiminīya* and the *Rāṇāyaṇīya* recensions.

The *Atharvaveda* has the Śaunaka recension and the *Paippalāda* recension. The former has been known for a long time and there is the commentary of Sāyaṇa available for the first half; the *Paippalāda* recension has recently been edited by Dr. Raghuvira.

The *Black Yajurveda* deals with the great *Yāgas* and rituals related to them. It is only in the end that there is reference to rituals that cannot be called the enlightened ones; there is the *Puruṣamedha.* In the *White Yajurveda,* the first 18 chapters relate to these big *Yāgas* and their associated rituals. In this portion there is a correspondence between the *Black* and the *White Yajurveda* Texts. Then in the following 11 chapters there are texts that are related to the main *Yāgas,* with considerable repetitions. In the ten chapters from 30 to 39, there are described rituals of an entirely new nature. They are *Puruṣamedha, Sarvamedha* and *Pitṛmedha.* The last 40th chapter is the *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad.* It is held that there are thus four stages in the development of the present text of the *White Yajurveda.* Whether there is a development or not, whether there is the difference between texts that are original and genuine and texts that are later additions, are questions that we cannot accept without further evidence. Some difference in the contents can be accepted.

In the *Atharvaveda* there are poems relating to a variety of subjects. A large number of them relate to philosophical problems, both

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metaphysics and ethics. There are social problems like education and householder's life. The major portion relates to *Āyurveda,* in which *Mantra* forms a good element. Politics and war and rulers find their place in the texts. Religion and prayers to gods also form an important part. The *Vrātya Kāṇḍa* is an interesting part.

Bhāṣyas

Sāyaṇa's *Bhāṣyas* are available for all the *Vedas,* including the *Vājasaneyi* of the *Yajurveda,* but not for the *Maitrāyaṇī* and the *Kāṭhaka* of the *Black Yajurveda.*

For the *Ṛgveda,* there are the commentaries by two Mādhavas, one being the son of Veṅkaṭārya. The commentary by this latter Mādhava has been published from Trivandrum and from Punjab, the latter edited by Lakshman Sarup; but I am informed that the copies have been completely lost during India's partition. The publication was not even completed. The commentary of the other Mādhava is available only for the first *Aṣṭaka* and has been published, along with the commentary of the Mādhava, son of Veṅkaṭārya, in the *Adyar Library Series.* This is the Mādhava mentioned by Varadarāja in his commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu.*

The commentary of Skandasvāmin has been published in Trivandrum and also in the *Madras University Sanskrit Series;* there is some difference of a recensional nature for the earlier portion, between the two editions. Only the first *Aṣṭaka* is available; a small portion is available for the later portion, and a small part of this was published in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* ten years ago. But I could not continue the edition.

There is a commentary by Udgītha for a small part in the Tenth Book and that portion has been published from Lahore some years ago.

A work called the *Vārarucaniruktasamuccaya* is a very interesting commentary on various stray verses. This is edited by me in the *Annals of Oriental Research* of the Madras University and from Lahore. *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Mantra Vyākhyā* is another interesting commentary on stray verses. This has been published from Trivandrum. For the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* there is the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara published from Mysore.

The *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* has been commented upon by Uvvaṭa and Mahīdhara.

For the *Sāmaveda* there are the commentaries of Mādhava and by Bharatasvāmin, edited by me, in the *Adyar Library Series.* This is only for the *Purvarcika.*

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This commentary of Mādhava is related to the commentary on the *Ṛgveda* by Skandasvāmin and with the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa. He seems to have been a disciple of Skandasvāmin. The two commentaries start in the same way. The benedictory verse in the commentary is identical with the one in the *Kādambarī*. See the Introduction to the edition in the Adyar Library. There is no other commentary known for the *Atharvaveda*.

Brāhmaṇas

The *Ṛgveda* has the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Sāṅkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa*. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is in 40 *Adhyāyas*. It deals with the *Soma Yaga* mainly. *Adhyāyas* 1 to 16 deal with the *Agniṣṭoma*, 17 and 18 with *Gavām ayana*, 19 to 24 with the *Dvādaśāha*. *Adhyāyas* 25 to 32 deal with *Agnihotra* and the remaining *Adhyāyas* deal with *Rājasūya*. The work is divided into eight Books called *Pañcikās* or groups of five (chapters). There is a view that the portion from *Adhyāya* 25 is later and is not genuine. The *Sāṅkhyāyana* or *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* has 30 *Adhyāyas* and deals with the *Soma Yāga* from *Adhyāya* 7; the first six *Adhyāyas* deal with *Agnyādhāna, Darśapūrṇamāsa*, etc. It does not contain the subject matter of the later portions of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* contains the very interesting story of Śunaḥśepa in the third *Adhyāya* of the seventh *Pañcikā*. There is also the description of the *Aindra Mahābhiṣeka* in this later portion. Neither *Aitareya* nor *Sāṅkhyāyana* represents a recension of the *Ṛgveda*. So far as rituals are concerned, there is the difference between the *Kauṣītakies* and the *Aśvalāyanas* in the *Ṛgveda*.

There is the commentary of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya for the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, published from Trivandrum. Here Itarā is the name of the mother of the author and so the *Brāhmaṇa* is known by that name, what is written by the son of Itarā.

The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* has the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* in three chapters. Much of the *Brāhmaṇa* is contained in the *Saṁhitā* itself.

The *Ṛgveda* has been completely translated into English by Griffith in verse and by Wilson in prose. There is the German translation in verse by Grassmann and in prose by Ludwig and by Geldner. The indices etc. in the Fourth Volume of Geldner's translation are very useful; so are the Notes in three volumes added to the translation by Ludwig. Oldenberg's Notes are also of equal importance. The *Wörterbuch* of Grassmann is also of equal importance.

The *Taittirīya* texts and the two *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Ṛgveda* have been translated by Keith. The Introductions are masterly in all of

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them. There has already been the translation of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* by Haug.

The *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* has been translated by Griffith. There are the translations for the *Atharvaveda* in the *Sacred Books of the East* and in the *Harvard Oriental Series*. The *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* has the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in 100 *Adhyāyas* grouped into 14 Books. Corresponding to the *Mādhyandina* and *Kāṇva* recensions of the *Saṁhitā* there is a similar difference in the *Brāhmaṇa* also. The *Kāṇva* contains 17 Books. In the *Mādhyandina*, Books I to IX correspond to Chapters 1 to 18 of the *Saṁhitā*. Book X deals with the mystery of the Fire Altar (*Agnirahasya*). Book XI is a recapitulation of the previous ritual. Books XII and XIII deal with various supplementary topics. The last is the *Āraṇyaka* of which the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* is the final portion. In Books VI to X, Śāṇḍilya is given as the highest authority and the name of Yājñavalkya is not even mentioned here; it is only in the other portions. In this portion, the construction of the Fire Altar is described. The text has been translated in the *Sacred Books of the East*.

The *Aitareya* and the *Śatapatha* are full of valuable information and are of particular importance in the study of culture and also of history. Events in the *Mahābhārata* and the event of the Deluge and Manu are found in the *Śatapatha*. Purūravas and Urvaśī and Bharata appear in the *Brāhmaṇa*.

There is the commentary of Harisvāmin; only portions of the commentary of Sāyaṇa and of Harisvāmin are available and both together give a fairly complete commentary for the *Brāhmaṇa*. Harisvāmin says that Skandasvāmin was his teacher and that he wrote the commentary in 639 S.D. He was also the Dharmādhyakṣa of Avanti.

For the *Sāmaveda*, the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* or the *Pañcavaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* is the most important. There is also the *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* with twenty-six chapters. The *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* is also a mine of valuable information. There are a few shorter works going by the name of *Brāhmaṇas;* they are not really of the nature of the other *Brāhmaṇas*.

There is a *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* of which portions had been published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. There is a commentary on it by Bhavatrāta available as manuscript. There is a *Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa* from which extensive citations are available. Many passages are cited in the *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*. There is noticed considerable agreement with the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*. These two *Brāhmaṇas* contain many interesting stories and also much of valuable information.

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The smaller *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Sāmaveda* are the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* and the *Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa*. There are a few more that go by the name of *Brāhmaṇas*, relating to the *Sāmaveda*. For the *Atharvaveda* there is the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*.

Āraṇyakas

There is the *Aitareyāraṇyaka* which is a continuation of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and there is the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* which is a continuation of the *Taittīriya Brāhmaṇa*. The latter is one of the best texts from the point of style and cultural value. It has already been said that the closing part of the *Śatapatha* is the *Āraṇyaka* portion with the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* at its end.

Upaniṣads

The *Muktikopaniṣad* enumerates 108 *Upaniṣads* at its end. The first ten of them are known as the *Major Upaniṣads*. The remaining are called *Minor Upaniṣads*. Dara Shikoh, son of Shah Jahan, translated many *Upaniṣads* into Persian and these were translated into Latin by Anquetil Duperron, under the title of Opnekats, which is the title given by Dara Shikoh. There are four of them which are not found in the 108 enumerated in the *Muktika*. About seventy further *Minor Upaniṣads* were published from the Adyar Library recently, which contain all these *Upaniṣads* translated by Dara Shikoh and not included in the *Muktika* collection. The *Major Upaniṣads* are:

Name	The Veda	Prose or verse	Remarks
1. *Iśa*	*Vājasaneyi*	Verse	It starts with *Īśā vāsyam idam.*
2. *Kena*	*Sāmaveda*	Verse	It starts with *keneṣitam.*
3. *Kaṭha*	*Yajurveda*	Verse	
4. *Praśna*	*Atharvaveda*	Prose	It is in the form of questions and answers
5. *Muṇḍaka*	*Atharvaveda*	Verse	
6. *Māndūkya*	*Atharvaveda*	Prose	Only a small portion is available; Gauḍapāda has added a text in *Kārikas*, which is accepted as authority.
7. *Taittirīya*	*Yajurveda*	Prose	
8. *Aitareyi*	*Ṛgveda*	Prose	
9. *Chāndogya*	*Sāmaveda*	Prose	
10. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*	*Vājasaneyi*	Prose	

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The last two are very long. They contain many stories too. The *Upaniṣads* are continuations of the *Brāhmaṇas* which deal with rituals and the *Āraṇyakas*.

The minor *Upaniṣads* are sectarian and they are now classed as Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava, Yoga and Vedānta. Śaṅkara has commented on the ten *Major Upaniṣads* and a few of the *Minor* ones, of which the *Śvetāśvatara* is accepted as genuine and relatively ancient. Raṅga Rāmānuja belonging to the Rāmānuja School of the Vedānta has commented on the ten *Major Upaniṣads* and so has Madhva, the founder of the Dvaita school of Vedānta. All the 108 *Upaniṣads* have been commented upon by some recent scholars.

Vedāṅga

For the *Nirukta* of Yāska there are two commentaries. One by Durgasiṁha had been available for a long time. Another by Maheśvara has recently been edited by Lakshman Sarup. He has given it as the joint work of Maheśvara and Skandasvāmin. It is called *Nirukta-bhāṣya-ṭīkā*. So he decided that it is a *Ṭīkā* on the *Bhāṣya* of the *Nirukta*. The fact is that the work of Yāska is called not the *Nirukta*, but the *Nirukta-bhāṣya*, being a comment on the *Nighaṇṭu* which has the other name of *Nirukta*. Yāska is mentioned by Durgasiṁha and by Sāyaṇa as Bhāṣyakāra, and not as Niruktakāra. Maheśvara cites from the *Ṛgvedabhāṣya* of Skandasvāmin as from the work of his Upādhyāya. So he must be a disciple of Skandasvāmin, who is the teacher of Harisvāmin too, and the latter gives his date as 639 for his commentary on the *Śatapatha*. See above under *Śatapatha*.

There are many works called *Śikṣā*, which is one of the six *Vedāṅgas;* most of them have been published. *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* in two recensions, Piṅgala's *Chandoviciti* and Pāṇini's *Vyākaraṇa* are the three other texts on the *Vedāṅgas*. The sixth *Vedāṅga*, the *Kalpa*, has a very extensive literature. They are divided into *Śrauta, Gṛhya* and *Dharma Sūtras*. The different *Vedas* have different *Sūtras*.

The *Ṛgveda* has the *Śrauta* and the *Gṛhya* by Āśvalāyana and by Sāṅkhyāyana. The *Taittirīya* has *Śrauta, Gṛhya, Dharma* and *Sulva Sūtras* by Baudhāyana and by Āpastamba. There are the *Śrauta* and the *Gṛhya* by Bharadvāja and Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśin. There is a *Dharma Sūtra* by Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśin, which is not much different from the work of Āpastamba. The *Mānava Śrauta, Gṛhya* and *Sulva Sūtras* belong to the *Maitrāyaṇī*. There is also a *Kāṭhaka Gṛhya Sūtra* closely related to the *Mānava*.

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Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra and *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra* belong to the *Vājasaneyi*. The *Sāmaveda* has the *Lāṭyāyana, Drāhyāyaṇa* and *Jaiminīya Śrauta Sūtras*. There are also the *Gṛhya Sūtras* of Gobhila and Khādira. For the *Atharvaveda* there is the *Vaitāna Śrauta Sūtra*. There is also the *Kauśika Sūtra* which partly deals with *Gṛhya* rituals and also with Magic. This is a very useful source book for ancient Magic.

The *Sulva Sūtras* mentioned above really form a part of the *Śrauta* literature; they contain measurements for the contruction of the Altar and such subjects.

There are certain works called the *Prātiśākhyas;* they are not given a separate place among the six *Vedāṅgas*. They contain much of the matter that are included within the *Śikṣa, Chandas* and *Vyākaraṇa* texts. There are the *Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya* of *Śaunaka* and the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* of Kātyāyana and also the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* and the *Sāmaveda Prātiśākhya* and the *Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya*. The *Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya* contains the metre dealt with in the last chapter. The grammar portion relates mainly to the splitting up of the words and other matters connected with phonology. Etymology and Morphology come in only incidentally. Many of the authorities cited by Pāṇini are the authors of *Prātiśākhyas*.

There are various *Anukramaṇīs* or indices. They are not included in the *Vedāṅga* scheme. But it is said that a knowledge of the contents of such *Anukramaṇīs* is necessary for the understanding and application of the Vedic texts. There is the statement:

Mantrāṇām brāhmaṇārṣeyachandodaivatavin na yaḥ
yājanādhyāpanād eti chandasām yātayāmatām
sthāṇum varcati garte vā padyate vā pramīyate
pāpīyān bhavatīty artham evam brāhmaṇam āha tam.

Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, V-i-4,5.

This is found in the *Sarvānukramaṇī* and other places also. It is based on the *Brāhmaṇa* passage.

The *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana starts with a description of the Vedic metres, and then gives the *Ṛṣi, Chandas* and *Devata* for each of the poems in the *Ṛgveda*. There is a commentary by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, which is very elaborate. There are a few more commentaries like *Uvvaṭa* and *Ganeśa*. I have copies of them with me. There is also a presentation of the whole subject matter in verses called the *Sarvānukramaṇī-padya-vivṛtti*. I have a copy of this also; it is a very useful work, which contains much matter that is in the

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The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* gives the same list in the same order without the size of the text. In the *Bhāgavata*, the size is given in terms of *Granthas* (units of verses of 32 syllables) in thousands. The *Vārāha Purāṇa* does not mention *Garuḍa* and *Brahmāṇḍa* and gives *Vāyu* and *Narasiṁha*. *Kūrma* gives *Vāyu* which will make the list 19 while it gives the total as 18. *Vāyu* is omitted in most of the lists.According to another list there are two *Purāṇas* beginning with the letter M: *Matsya* and *Mārkāṇḍeya;* there are two *Purāṇas* beginning with the letter Bh: *Bhaviṣya* and *Bhāgavata:* there are three beginning with the B : *Brahmāṇḍa, Brahmavaivarta* and *Brāhma;* there are four beginning with V : *Vārāha, Vāmana, Vāyu* (this is replaced in most of the lists with *Śaiva*) and *Viṣṇu;* then there are seven each of which starts with a separate letter, as *Agni, Nārada, Pādma, Liṅga, Gāruḍa, Kūrma* and *Skānda.*

1. *Agni Purāṇa* contains 15400 verses. This is an encyclopaedia containing descriptions of a variety of subjects and also contains the subjects found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* along with the *Harivaṁśa;* it deals with *Dhanurveda, Āyurveda, Saṅgīta, Arthaśāstra, Vyākaraṇa, Alamkāra* and the various *Darśanas.* To this extent it has a great importance. There is a view that it is a very late one. It is mentioned in all the *Purāṇas.* It is held by some that the *Alamkāra* portion shows signs of influence by the work of Bhoja.

2. *Kūrma.* This contains 17000 verses. This is taught by Viṣṇu to Indradyumna as a Kūrmāvatara and hence there is its name. Though taught by Viṣṇu, it is a *Śaivapurāṇa* glorifying the worship of Śiva. There are a few *Sthalamāhātmyas* too.

3. *Gāruḍa.* This is what is called *Sauparṇa* in the *Bhāgavata* list. It has 19000 verses. This contains glorifications of Viṣṇu worship and also gives the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* along with the *Harivaṁśa;* it also treats of astronomy and other subjects, including metres and grammar and other sciences.

4. *Nāradīya Purāṇa* is a fairly big one with 25000 verses; it is in two Books. We cannot call it a *Purāṇa* at all as it teaches mainly the doctrine of Devotion to Viṣṇu and contains practically nothing of the contents of the *Purāṇas.* The observance of the fast on the Ekādaśī (eleventh day of the two halves of the lunar month) and the story of persons like Rukmāṅgada find a place here.

5. *Pādma.* It is one of the longest of the *Purāṇas,* only the *Skānda* exceeding it; it contains 55000 verses. It is divided into five Books about *Sṛṣṭi, Bhūmi, Svarga* and *Pātāḷa,* and there is also an *Uttara Kāṇḍa.* There are various *Māhātmyas* in this and also various stories. The style is really superb. This is a Viṣṇu epic and

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yet it is Śiva who glorifies Viṣṇu. There have been various later additions like the story of the *Raghuvaṁśa* following Kālidāsa.

6. *Brahmavaivarta.* This has 18000 verses. This is also a Viṣṇu epic. It is divided into four Books. In the First Book it is held that the world is a *Vivarta* (transformation) of Brahmā in the form of Kṛṣṇa. In the Second Book there is the description of the *Prakṛti* transformed into some goddesses. The Third and Fourth Books relate to Gaṇeśa and Kṛṣṇa.

7. *Brahmāṇḍa.* This is described in one way in some *Purāṇas* and the contents are quite different from that. It contains a large number of stories. The extant *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Lalitā Sahasranāma* are found included in this. Perhaps what was known in the early times is another.

8. *Brāhma.* This stands first in all the lists and is also called the *Ādipurāṇa.* It is a teaching given by Brahmā to Dakṣa and so it has acquired this name. The work contains a large number of *Māhātmyas.* It has 10000 verses.

9. *Bhaviṣya.* It contains 14500 verses. The work deals with various cults and their rituals. It has nothing to do with the future as the name suggests.

10. *Bhāgavata.* This contains 18000 verses. There is a doubt whether it is this or the *Devī Bhāgavata* that should be included in the 18 Purāṇas. The Bhāgavata itself mentions this, and it cannot ignore itself. This is perhaps the most popular among the *Purāṇas,* being the Text for the *Bhakti* School. There is a view that it is a composition of Bopadeva. It is not referred to by Rāmānuja. I have also heard a story that it is Rāmānuja's own work. The style and the various metres adopted and the literary qualities make this one of the best among poetic works in Sanskrit. It contains various stories. The story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is given in the Tenth Book. It has twelve Books. The *Devī Bhāgavata* is a *Śākta* work. It glorifies the Goddess who is to be worshipped as the Greatest Being. Various exploits of the Goddess are narrated here.

11. *Matsya.* This has 14000 verses. It contains many *Māhātmyas* and rituals. It also deals with *Rāja Dharma* and other subjects. It was narrated by Viṣṇu as Matsya Avatāra. The lists of dynasties and kings are of special importance for history.

12. *Mārkāṇḍeya.* This is a small work with only 9000 verses. The epic is in the form of replies given by Mārkāṇḍeya to questions put to him, like, the Avatāras, Draupadi's five husbands and the fate of her children. This contains the famous *Saptaśatī* or *Devī Māhātmya* describing the exploits of the Goddess.

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13. *Liṅga.* This contains 11000 verses. This does not contain anything about the 'worship of the Liṅga' as the name may suggest. There appears the Great God Maheśvara in the Agni Liṅga and as such it is called by this name. It is full of mystic matter. It deals with the various *Avatāras* of Śiva.

14. *Vāmana.* This is also a relatively small work with 10000 verses. There are the descriptions of the various *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu and the first that is described is the Vāmana Avatāra; therefore there is this name. It also glorifies Śiva and the pilgrimages to Śiva temples.

15. *Vārāha.* This has 24000 verses. This is taught to the Earth by Viṣṇu as Varāha Avatāra and hence the name given to it. There are many Śiva legends too.

16. *Viṣṇu.* This is the most important *Purāṇa* and Śaṅkara cites from this as well as from the *Mahābhārata.* It has 23000 verses. Perhaps the oldest, it is really the most important *Purāṇa.* It contains various stories of ancient heroes. It has a great interest for history. The dynastic list is of particular importance. The whole story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as given in the *Bhāgavata* in Book X is given here also. There is nothing of a sectarian touch in it. The dynastic list comes to the Āndhrabhṛtyas. There is no literary flourish in it; the style is simple and chaste and it is real poetry.

17. *Śiva.* Perhaps the real *Purāṇa* is the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Śiva Purāṇa* is another name of it, or the *Śiva Purāṇa* is a part of this or a subsidiary *Purāṇa* to it. It deals with the glories of Śiva. There are also some *Māhātmyas* like *Gayā* and *Triveṇī.*

18. *Skanda.* This is the biggest of the *Purāṇas,* containing 81,000 verses. It deals with the various places in the country that are of great importance from the Śiva point of view. It is more or less a collection of *Sthala Māhātmyas.* The *Purāṇa* is in six sections known as *Sanatkumārīya, Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī, Śāṅkarī* (also called *Āgastya*) and *Saurī.* Each of them is called a *Saṁhitā.* Then there is the Sixth Book called *Kāśī Khaṇḍa,* which is very large and which is supposed to be the most important part; it deals with temples in Kāśī and around.

Besides the 18 *Purāṇas,* there are a few that deserve some notice at this stage. They are parts of *Purāṇas.* In the *Mahābhārata,* Śrī Kṛṣṇa comes in only incidentally and there is a supplement to the *Mahābhārata* known as the *Harivaṁśa.* It is in three Books. The First deals with the Purāṇic topic of creation and other subjects. Then there is the story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the Second, and the Third Book deals with the *Kaliyuga.* The *Viṣṇudharmottara* is a supple-

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ment to the *Viṣṇu* Purāṇa and deals with all sorts of subjects, arts, literature, philosophy, *Dharma* and so on; it is an encyclopaedia. The *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha* contains the teachings given by Vaisiṣṭha to Rāma and is more a work on philosophy than a *Purāṇa;* it is generally entered under Philosophy.

Though the *Purāṇas* are classified as sectarian under *Śaiva* and *Vaiṣṇava,* there is really no sectarian bias in them. There is no fanaticism either. At best there may be this limitation that a particular *Purāṇa* takes up some aspect of religion as more important for treatment and regards the others as subordinate. But there is full recognition for all the sides of religious thought and religious belief in all of them. No *Purāṇa* is opposed to another *Purāṇa.*

The *Purāṇa* has the five topics as the main subject matter, as given in the verse:

sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca
vaṁśānucaritam caiva purāṇam pañcalakṣaṇam.

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* which gives this definition, follows this definition also. In the others there are many that deal with these topics and with many more and in some of them these topics form only a very minor factor. The same stories and the same subjects are treated in an independent way in the different *Purāṇas.* In all of them we find the emphasis on the reality of the world and on the importance of life and man's duty in and to life. They are all a call to the people not to run away from the world. The greatness of the world is fully presented in all the *Purāṇas.* They were written at a time when the old ways were giving place to new ones, and the purpose was to recall people to the old ways with adjustments and adaptations.

There is a unity in all the *Purāṇas* put together. Each of them recognises all of them. If there had been sectarian differences and mutual animosity among the different sects, such a unity is impossible. There was recognition of difference and tolerance of difference, by the side of the unity.

VI. MAHĀKĀVYA

Pāṇini. According to tradition, Pāṇini, the great grammarian, had written a Grand Epic named *Jāmbavatīvījaya* or *Pātālavijaya.* Rājaśekhara speaks about him as a poet who had written the *Jāmbavatījaya* after his grammar:

svasti pāṇinaye tasmai yena rudraprasādataḥ
ādau vyākaraṇam proktam tato jāmbavatījayam.

Nimisādhu in his commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkāra* cites Pāṇini's *Pātālavijaya.* Many citations from Pāṇini are seen in later

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works. According to Kṣemendra, he excels in the *Upajāti* metre. I have heard a story about Pāṇini in this connection. He had composed his *Pātālavijaya* and he recited it in the Assembly of the king. There was this passage in it: *prāpa purīm phaṇīnām.* The form should be *phaṇinām* and not *phaṇīnām* with long *ī*. For this grammatical mistake, he was ordered to go out of the Assembly. But his young son was there and he challenged the assembly and said that the use is correct. The word means: *phanī inaḥ yasyām sā phaṇīnā. tām purīm.* Then Pāṇini was allowed to continue his recitation.

Buddhaghosa. He is a Buddhist and he has written a Grand Epic named *Padyacūḍāmaṇi.* It is in ten cantos. The story relates to the life of Buddha; the story differs slightly from what is given in other works like *Lalitavistara* and *Buddhacarita.* He indulges in long descriptions, where sometimes many verses contain only a single point. It is a very beautiful poem, imitating Kālidāsa in many places.

Abhinanda. His *Rāmacarita* is a very long poem, simple in style with beautiful ideas and with effortless ease in expression. The poem has been published in the *Baroda Series.* He is the son of Śatānanda. The poem has been cited by later writers on *Alamkāra.*

Padmagupta. He wrote the poem called the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* in 18 cantos. The story relates to the marriage of King Sindhurāja with the Nāga princess Śaśiprabhā. It contains some surprises. The king during his hunting shot a deer which was a favourite of the princess Śaśiprabhā and the arrow bearing the name revealed the owner of the arrow with which the deer was shot. In the same way, the king sees a swan in the lake which had a necklace round its neck and that belonged to the princess. Thus they knew each other and love started. A messenger sent by the princess sees the king with the necklace, and he is asked to go to the Pātāla and attack the king Vajrāṅkuśa who was a demon, and to bring the golden lotus from his lotus pond. This the king accomplishes and the princess and the king are married. The poet is known to some of the later Ālamkārikas. There is evidence to show that he had written other works also. He is known also as Parimala Kālidāsa. He was a contemporary of Munja, father of Bhoja and he must have lived to the time of Bhoja too. It must be about this Kālidāsa that there are many stories relating him to Bhoja in the *Bhojaprabandha.*

Bilhaṇa. He was a Kāshmirian poet of great fame. He was the son of Jyeṣṭhakalaśa and Nāgadevī. There is much information available about his ancestors. His father was the author of a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* and his grandfather was Rājakalaśa

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and his great-grand-father was Muktikalaśa. He had two poet brothers by name Iṣṭārāma and Ānanda. He was for some time the Vidyāpati in the Assembly of Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla, who lived in the last quarter of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century. Latterly it seems he lost the friendship of the king. He wrote the poem called the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita,* describing the greatness of Tribhuvanamalla. The poem does not complete the victories of the great king. The work is of some interest from the point of view of history.

Vāsudeva. He is a Kerala poet and the author of *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya,* which is a *Yamaka Kāvya* in 8 cantos. It seems that he was an idiot and became a great scholar and poet through the Grace of the Bhūtaśāstā at a temple called Tiruvullakkāvu, six miles to the south of Trichur. He ate the special kind of banana fruit that is given to the deities, the *Kadalī,* and became a poet. The story goes that he had to spend a rainy night in the temple and took the fire-wood kept by the temple servant there. That woman was angry in the morning when it was found that the fire-wood had been taken, and he replied in a verse; that verse, in the Malayalam language, is very familiar in Kerala. One king Kulaśekhara was ruling Kerala at that time. Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja's book, *The Kerala Contribution to Sanskrit Literature,* gives all the details about the author and his work. The great importance of *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* is that it is a very beautiful *Yamaka Kāvya.* The *Kāvya* had been commented on by a Kāshmirian scholar named Rājānaka Ratnākaṇṭha. There are many imitations of the work, some much shorter.

Hemacandra. He was a great scholar and poet and also a Jaina Saint. He lived in the last quarter of the 11th century and in the first three quarters of the 12th century. There is practically no subject on which he has not written very authoritative works, grammar, *Alamkāra, Kośa* and so on. His *Kumārapālacarita* is a poem in 28 cantos. It deals with the glories of Kumārapāla of the Aṇahilavāḍa dynasty. The first twenty cantos are in Sanskrit and the rest in Prakrit; he has written works on Prakrit grammar and Prakrit *Kośa.* The Prakrit portion illustrates the rules of Prakrit Grammar written by himself. His *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* is a very long poem describing the great Jaina saints. This has been published in the *Baroda Series.* It is a very good poem, simple and lucid.

Amaracandra. He lived in the middle of the 13th century and he wrote a poem called *Bālabhārata,* which narrates the story of the *Mahābhārata* Book by Book. Though a condensation of the great Epic, it is a really good poem, elegant and full of attractive descriptions.

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Vastupāla. He lived in the first half of the 13th century and wrote a poem called the *Naranārāyaṇānanda*. It also contains very good descriptions, but more on the model of Māgha.

Nayacandra. He lived in the second half of the 13th century. His *Hammīracarita* has some historical interest. It deals with his relations and feuds with the Muslim ruler, Allauddin. It seems that the king appeared before the poet in sleep and inspired him to write the poem. It contains much of political teaching by the father to the son, and also the adventures of the latter who is the hero.

Vedāntadeśika. He is a very versatile scholar and a profound philosopher. He has written a large number of works on *Vedānta* in the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* school. His great poem is the *Yādavābhyudaya* dealing with the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. It is a very beautiful poem. He lived in the beginning of the 14th century. The poem is in 21 cantos and deals with the Yadu dynasty and the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

Agastya. He was a poet who lived in the court of the great ruler by name Pratāparudradeva, in the beginning of the 14th century. His *Bālabhārata* is a very beautiful poem. His style is extremely sweet and his language is simple and musical. His poetry has been admired by some later poets and literary critics.

Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita. He was very versatile. As in the case of many other great writers, he was poet, literary critic and philosopher. His *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* is a short poem in 10 cantos and has been published in the *Adyar Library Series*.

Nīlakaṇṭha. He is another poet-philosopher. He was a grand-nephew of Appayya Dīkṣita. His *Śivalīlārṇava* described the various *Līlas* (Plays) of the Great God Śiva, in 22 cantos, and his *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* describes the descent of the Ganges to the earth from the heaven.

Rāmabhadra. His *Patañjalicarita* gives an account of the story of the advent of Patañjali to teach grammar and certain very interesting episodes in connection with the teaching that he gave to his disciples concealed behind a curtain so that no one would know his identity.

Śaṅkara. His *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vijaya* is a very lucid and simple poem, full of beautiful imagery; it is a poem describing the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He belonged to a place called Pallikkunnu (Vihārācala) in Kerala. The poem is in 12 cantos. It is very popular in Kerala.

Sukumāra. He wrote his *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vilāsa*. It is also a very beautiful poem, simple in language, with very good descriptions on the model of Kālidāsa. The style is superb and that is the poem which young children study to start their Sanskrit education in Kerala.

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The poem is not finished. There is a story how he was being harassed by his teacher and how he wanted to kill him by dropping a stone on him while he would be sleeping. He made a hole in the ceiling in his room and sat above the ceiling waiting for the teacher to sleep. That was a full-moon and his wife admired the beauty of the moon-light when the teacher said that there can be nothing that can be so charming as the mind of his dear student, which was clearer than the moon-light. The student felt sorry for what he was thinking of doing and so he came down and confessed his guilt to the teacher. He wanted also to know what the expiatory purification is for such a crime. The teacher said that the prescribed ceremony is to burn oneself in fire when the husk of the paddy would be burning slowly: but he also said that in this case nothing need be done, since he had pleased the teacher so much with his intelligence and devotion. But the student insisted on going through the ordeal and he arranged for a heap of the husk of paddy to be piled in a pit and for setting it on fire. Then he stood on it covered up to the neck and started composing the poem. It stops with the middle of the last line in a verse: *pāram śritān paścimavārirāśeḥ paśya priye*. Some say that he had also composed the last word *koṅkaṇabhūmibhāgān*. This is what Śrī Kṛṣṇa tells Bhāmā, when they were on their return journey. The author is known in tradition as Prabhākara. But all the manuscripts read the name of the author as Sukumāra. Some people say that he is identical with Prabhākara, the great Mīmāṁsā teacher. There is no evidence either for the name Prabhākara or this identification.

Poets came up and composed poems of a very high order throughout the ages. There was neither a decay nor a termination of poetic talents in the country. It may be that there were no poets who had attained the eminence of Kālidāsa. There is no language in which there are poets that stand on the same level as the best among them coming in as a regular feature. That is what Ānandavardhana says: *asminn ativicitrakaviparamparāvāhini saṁsāre kālidāsaprabhṛtayo dvitrāḥ pañcaṣā vā mahākavayaḥ iti gaṇyante* (under I-6).

Even among the poets who have written the *Mahākāvyas*, there may be a poet like Bhāravi who has a philosophy, who makes a special appeal. Even such a poet does not come up frequently. There have always been great poets who could compose poems that could stand by the side of *Māgha* or *Naiṣadhīyacarita*. People could command the language and the style and they could also present situations as we find in such poems, throughout the history of Sanskrit literature; this continues even now.

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Many poets tried to complete the story of Nala, which stopped with the wedding of Nala and Damayantī in the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Śrī Harṣa. Ārūr Bhaṭṭa's *Uttara Naiṣadha* is one. There is another work called the *Pratinaiṣadha* by a poet by name Vidyādhara who lived in the time of Shah Jahan. There is another poet associated with the poem and he is Lakṣmaṇa. I have a copy of this. The poem can stand by the side of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*. There is a simple poem called the *Bhṛgu Vaṁśa* by Pratāparāya. This is also a very simple poem full of beautiful descriptions and brisk narrations. It is in 20 cantos. I have a copy of this work. It can compare with any good poem in Sanskrit. *Kārtavīrya Vijaya* is another such poem of which too I have a copy. I have given these notices only to show that the current of poetry is not dried up and that it had been ever in full flood in India.

VII. DRAMA

Major Types

Viṇāvāsavadatta. This is a drama which must have had 8 Acts. A small part of it has been published serially in the *Journal of Oriental Research* by me and it was later published as a small book in 1931. The published portion has only three Acts. The verses in the drama are all collected in a book called the *Vatsarājakathā*, of which a manuscript is available. The story is the same as that of the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* ascribed to Bhāsa. It may be this is the drama which Bhāmaha criticises in IV-37 ff. The drama has all the features of Bhāsa given by Bāṇa in the *Harṣacarita*.

Aśvaghoṣa. *Śārīputraprakaraṇa* is a drama in nine Acts and deals with the conversion of Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana to Buddhism. Fragments of some other dramas are also found out.

Kaumudīmahotsava. This is a drama which describes some events in the history of Magadha. The drama is very interesting both from the literary and from the historical points of view. There has been much discussion about the author and the name of the drama. Both are only conjectured. The name of the author is given sometimes as Vajjikā, who is known as a great poetess in Sanskrit.

Dhīranāga. A drama called the *Kundamālā* was published as the work of Diṅnāga. It was then supposed to be by the great Buddhist teacher, and it was also supposed that it is this Diṅnāga whom Kālidāsa mentions in his passage: *diṅnāgānām pathi pariharan sthūlahastāvalepān* (*Meghaduta*, I-14), as his rival poet. Now it is accepted that the dramatist is Dhīranāga. This makes little difference since we know little about him either. The theme is more or less the same as that of the *Uttararāmacarita*. The poetry is good

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and the scenes are well planned. It is a really good drama whatever may be the uncertainty about the dramatist.

Rājaśekhara. He is a profuse writer. He has written on *Alamkāra*, the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. He belongs to a family of great scholars and poets. His grandfather was a poet named Akālajalada. He married Avantisundarī, a Rajput lady of great accomplishments. He mentions king Mahendrapāla in his dramas. He belonged to the 10th century. His great drama is the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* in ten Acts. He is known to have written other dramas also, the most important of which was *Haravilāsa*. In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* he includes the whole story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He deviates considerably from the original story. Thus Rāvaṇa comes as a rival from the beginning.

His *Viddhasālabhañjikā* is a drama which as now available is incomplete with only two Acts. The drama starts with the marriage of Draupadī and deals also with the gambling and the loss of the country and the departure of the Pāṇḍavas to the forest.

The *Karpūramañjarī* is another Prakrit drama. It is a *Saṭṭaka*, which has 4 Acts. It deals with the king Candrapāla and a princess of the Kuntala country and their marriage after many vicissitudes.

Māyurāja. The name may be a Prakritisation of Maṭṛrāja. His *Udāttarāghava* is one among the many dramas with a Rāma story. Another drama known is the *Tāpasavatsarāja*. This relates to the story of Udayaṇa and Vāsavadatta. The story is handled in a very independent way. There are surprises in plenty. The hero and the heroine separate and they meet later under very unexpected circumstances.

Śaktibhadra. The *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* is very popular on the Kerala stage. It is by Śaktibhadra who is spoken of as a disciple of Śaṅkarācārya. It seems that when he showed the drama to Śaṅkara he said nothing and Śaktibhadra burnt it. Later when Śaṅkara asked for it he confessed what he had done and Śaṅkara reproduced the whole drama from memory. It is also a drama of surprises. The style is very simple and forceful. It starts from the abduction of Sītā and goes to the end of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (excluding the later part).

Murāri. His *Anargharāghava* is accepted as one of the best dramas in Sanskrit. It is in 7 Acts. He exhibits his scholarship along with his ability to handle the language which is very chaste and majestic. Murāri has been cited by later grammarians like Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in his *Prakriyāsarvasva* says: *Murāribhavabhūtyādīn apramāṇīkaroti kaḥ*. This is with reference to the correctness of the word *Viśrāma*.

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Hanūmān. There is a drama called the *Mahānāṭaka* or *Hanūmannāṭaka*. It seems that Vālmīki was afraid of the fate of his own poem if this new drama were made known and that, with the permission of Hanūmān, he threw it into the sea. It was later washed ashore. There are two versions of it. One is by Dāmodara, perhaps made during the time of Bhoja. It has 14 Acts. The other version is by Madhusūdana and has only 9 Acts. One cannot call it a drama. It is a series of good poems strung together as a conversation. But the poetry is excellent and is cited by later literary critics. The story relates to the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Bilhaṇa. His *Karṇasundarī* is a very cleverly constructed drama and there are imitations in it of Kālidāsa, Harṣa and other Classical dramatists. It is also a very beautiful drama. Love, characters in disguise, surprises and final triumph form the theme. There is also a supernatural element.

Kṣemīśvara. His *Caṇḍakauśika* is a drama that can stand by the side of the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* and the *Mudrārākṣasa* in point of the exhibition of emotional fervour. The story relates to the efforts of the sage Viśvāmitra to deflect the righteous king Hariścandra from the path of uncompromising adherence to truth. The title of the drama means "the Terrific Kauśika or Viśvāmitra". Kṣemīśvara has written another drama called the *Abhinava Naiṣadhānanda*. It starts with the journey of Nala to attend the wedding of Damayantī and continues to the end. This is a very good drama, full of brisk movement. I have a copy of the book in manuscript. The style is simple.

Jayadeva. He was the son of Mahādeva and Sumitrā. His poetry is so very sweet that he has acquired the name of Piyūṣa. His *Prasanna-rāghava* is well known; he is known to have written some other dramas also. It is in his *Prasanna-rāghava* that there is the reference to Kālidāsa and Bhāsa. He is not identical with the author of the *Gītagovinda;* he is a great logician and the author of a commentary on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya. The drama is in 7 Acts. Here, as in most of the Rāma Dramas, the dramatist takes considerable liberty with the original story, introducing new characters and altering the relationship of the various characters.

Bhāsa. Bhāsa ought to have been the first dramatist to be noticed in this connection. I have already discussed the Bhāsa problem in the main text itself, and have given some information about two plays now accepted as those of Bhāsa, namely, the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*. Bhāsa has written a drama called the *Svapnavāsavadatta*. The present drama contains much of the material from the original drama. But it is a condensation or

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adaptation and not the original itself. The *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* is a prelude to this drama with the same style in language. But it appears to be a later adaptation of an original drama which Bhāmaha must have been criticising. That drama is likely to be the *Viṇāvāsavadatta* noticed above. As for *Cārudatta*, it is only the earlier part of Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika*. There are variations and such variations may be due to the change in place, the present editions of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* being based on North Indian Manuscripts and the work attributed to Bhāsa being from South India. If a complete copy of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is available from the South the first four Acts thereof may be identical in essentials with the four Acts now going by the name of *Cārudatta* assigned to Bhāsa.

The remaining ten dramas have no sort of known and proved relation with Bhāsa. They are good dramas, original in the construction of the plot and vigorous in style. As poetry they are really good and even as dramas some of them can stand by the side of the good dramas in Sanskrit. The stories are taken from the *Mahābhārata* or the *Rāmāyaṇa* or from the chronicles. The following are the *Mahābhārata* dramas.

1. *Pañcarātra.* This is really a good drama, dealing with the story of the attack of Suyodhana to take away the cows of Virāṭa where the Pāṇḍavas were living. Practically everything in the drama is original. Only the characters and the central situation are in the original. Suyodhana wants Droṇa to find out the whereabouts of the Pāṇḍavas who were living incognito, within five nights, and that is the reason why the drama is so called. If their whereabouts were found out before the expiry of the thirteen years, they would again have had to return to the forest for another term. It is a drama in three Acts. The drama avoids a war and the country is returned to the Pāṇḍavas by Suyodhana on his own account, with his free will.

2. *Dūtavākya.* This relates to the mediation by Śrī Kṛṣṇa on behalf of the Pāṇḍavas to see if the Pāṇḍavas could get their right without a war. It is in one Act; it is full of action and brisk dialogue.

3. *Madhyamavyāyoga.* Here also the plot is original. Ghaṭotkaca, son of Bhīma, was killing a few Brahmins to eat them when Bhīma went there and they recognise each other as father and son. The Brahmins are saved. Madhyama is the middle one of the five brothers and so the drama is called by that name.

4. *Ūrubhanga.* This describes the condition of Suyodhana after his duel fight with Bhīma in which Bhīma struck Suyodhana on the thigh and Suyodhana had his thigh crushed making it im-

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possible for him to walk. Here we find a real hero in Suyodhana with human touches.

5. *Karṇabhāra.* This is also a drama with an original plot. Indra asks Karṇa to give him his ear-rings and armour as a gift when Karṇa promised to give him anything that he asks for. Here we find Karṇa as a generous person with noble traits of character.

6. *Dūtaghaṭotkaca.* Here also the plot is original. Ghatotkaca goes to the Kauravas as a mediator to bring about a reconciliation between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. This is immediately after the death of Abhimanyu at the hands of the Kauravas through a stratagem. He was insulted and he gets furious, when he was appeased by Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

There are two dramas with the plot from the *Rāmāyaṇa.* In both there is originality in plot.

1. *Abhiṣeka.* This deals with the final stage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* when, after the abduction of Sītā, Rāma made friends with Sugrīva and crossed over to Laṅkā and killed Rāvaṇa. Then he returned to Ayodhyā and was crowned king. But there are many original situations and the poetry is really good.

2. *Pratimā.* The sight by Bharata of Daśaratha's statue which was a sign of his having died and the journey of Bharata to the forest to meet Rāma are described here. The incidents of the *Abhiṣeka* also come here. But there is much of original matter, and as poetry and as drama this is far superior to the *Abhiṣeka.*

There is a drama having the story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as the theme and the drama is called the *Bālacarita.* It deals with the early life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa till the killing of Kaṁsa.

The *Avimāraka* has a story taken from the chronicles as the theme. It is the story of a king who had become a Caṇḍāla. There was a princess whom her father would have given in marriage to such a great hero like Avi-māraka, who had killed a demon named Avi, but for his low birth. The hero and the heroine meet and fall in love with each other. In the end they marry. There are various very interesting situations and surprises in the plot. It is a really well-planned and well-executed drama.

All the ten are good dramas; but their authorship has yet to be fixed. There is no proof at all for assigning them to Bhāsa. They seem to be rather late productions. Yet another drama has recently been published as Bhāsa's and that is *Yajña-phala.* This is a production by a recent scholar, as is known to me and to many others. It is also a rather poor production.

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Ravivarman. He was a ruler in Kerala. He wrote a drama called the *Pradyumnābhyudaya*. It deals with the marriage of a king named Pradyumna with a princess named Prabhāvatī. It is in five Acts and shows evidence of the influence of earlier dramatists as in the case of a drama within a drama.

Rāmabhadra. He is known as Ramabhadra Dīkṣita and is the author of a very cleverly constructed drama called the *Jānakī-pariṇaya*. For dexterity in constructing a plot from a well-known story, there are few rivals. Perhaps the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* of Śakti-bhadra, already noticed, is one among such dramas. The genuine characters and others appearing as the genuine characters make the plot so very interesting, full of surprises. There is also the device of a drama within a drama brought into this. Attempts at suicide and mischief of characters with supernatural powers for impersonation bring about all sorts of complicating situations. The characters are all from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and also the incident. Other factors in the drama are the creations of the dramatist.

Uddaṇḍa. His *Mallikāmāruta* has been published many years ago and is very popular. He is a well-known scholar in Kerala, a great friend of all the rulers there, and he lived about 500 A.D. He is a good poet with a great command of the language. His style is grand. He imitates Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-mādhava* in the plot of the drama, but the characters are drawn from the demi-gods and to this extent, there is an echo of the *Nāgānanda* in this drama. It is a *Prakaraṇa* in ten Acts.

Vedāntadeśika. He has written the *Saṅkalpasūryodaya* on the model of the *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra, presenting the doctrines of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* school of the *Vedānta* in the form of a drama.

Gokulanātha has written another drama named the *Amṛtodaya* in which the philosophy according to the *Nyāya* system is presented. The dramatist has also written some other dramas of the classical type.

Minor Types

Bharata speaks of eight varieties of Minor types of dramas. A large number of such dramas must have been known to him; otherwise he would not have included them in his classification. Many of them went out of use in course of time; only the *Bhāṇa* and the *Prahasana* remained rather popular, and that only at a much later time. I have already noticed the classical *Prahasana*, the *Matta-vilāsa*, in the main text. Most of the *Prahasanas* are imitations of this in point of the main motif. It is to make fun of people who are

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supposed to have left off all care for and interest in the affairs of the world and who work for salvation and for helping others. But in their real life they are all rogues, engaged in robbery at night, spending their time in the company of women and in enjoying drink at taverns.

Bodhāyana. His *Bhagavadajjuka* has recently been published. It relates to the intimate relations of a Bhagavān, a hermit in dress, and his love-friend Ajjukā. There is yet considerable uncertainty about the author and the date. It is generally accepted as an early play. It is put to a period between the 1st and the 4th centuries A.D. It is interesting. It seems that in an inscription of early sixth century, there is a mention of such a drama. It can easily be accepted as a fairly early specimen of a *Prahasana*. The drama shows evidences of acquaintance with the *Sāṅkhya* theories.

It was the custom in those days that when a man had been excommunicated he would join the monastic order. No one was denied admission. This is found in many works of those days. There is the story of Kālidāsa, who, being exiled by the king, joined the monastic order. He was purchasing meat in a butcher's shop and the king happened to go that way, and seeing a member of the monastic order buying meat in a butcher's shop he asked him why he was there and there was a dialogue recorded in the verse:

bhikṣo māṁsaniṣevaṇam kim ucitam—kim tena madyam vinā
madyam cāpi tavā priyam—priyam aho vārāṅganābhiḥ samam
vārastrīrataye kutas tava dhanam—dyūtena cauryeṇa vā
cauryadyūtapariśramo 'sti bhavato—bhraṣṭasya kānyā gatiḥ.

This is the subject matter of all the *Prahasanas*. The *Prahasanas* were being written for being presented on the stage during festivals in temples when crowds used to gather, and the *Prahasanas* gave the common people immense amusement. I have a collection of such *Prahasanas* in my possession, written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

There is a drama called *Latakamelaka* where a physician tries to take out a bone piece stuck in the throat of a lady and he was absolutely incompetent to do it, and his absurd ways of taking it out provide occasion for laughter. Then there is the hero and the heroine, but the marriage at the end is between the mediator of the heroine and a member of a monsatic order, which alone comes into fruition. The author is Śaṅkhadhara Kavirāja, in the 12th century.

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The *Dhūrtasamāgama* is another drama of the type, by Kaviśekhara. Here also the same set of people come in as characters.

Jagadīśvara's *Hāsyārṇava* is another drama. The country is subject to misrule and evil reigns in the realm, because wives were devoted to their husbands and the people were performing their duties prescribed in the *Śāstras*. The king wanted to know how matters were getting on in the country and he goes to the house of a lady where again all the characters that are familiar in *Prahasanas* gather. All sorts of people appear in the stage like a barber, a police chief and an astrologer. People dedicated to a life of religious devotion become suitors for the hand of ladies, and rivals in their efforts. Elderly people secure the hands of the young ladies and young people are content with the hands of lesser importance. The rival suitors happen to be teacher and disciple. In this way there is plenty of occasion for laughter.

Kautukasarvasva is a more interesting drama. Here also kings appear and there is plenty of caricature of people supposed to be holy. *Dhūrtanartaka* is still another. There are many more. They are all of fairly late date.

Among the *Bhāṇas* may be mentioned the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* and the *Vasantatilaka*. *Śāradātilaka* and *Śṛṅgārasarvasva* are others available in print.

Caturbhāṇī. Four *Bhāṇas* were published a few years ago. The publishers gave them the common name of *Caturbhāṇī*. It does not mean that they have any mutual connection. They are claimed to be rather early ones and it is even claimed that they may be pre-Kālidāsa and pre-Christian Era. These four and the *Bhagavadajjuka*, the *Prahasana*, are some of the recent additions to the dramatic literature that are available in print. They came into the field much later than the dramas ascribed to Bhāsa; but they did not have that fame which the Bhāsa dramas acquired. Their authorship and date have yet to be decided.

The *Prahasanas* and the *Bhāṇas* may appear to be coarse and even vulgar to a modern reader. They were not written as high class dramas or as first class literature. They were meant only to provoke laughter and give amusement to the crowd. They caricature the society in which there was much of hypocrisy by way of adopting *Saṁnyāsa* and joining the Monastic Order and to appear to be saints. Such drama became a sort of corrective to the hypocrisy of the saints. There is nothing that can be called obscene, what is really objectionable from the point of social decency. They had their good effects. People were protected from duplicity by those who took to various forms of dress and physical make-up to be recognised as

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holy personages; really they were duping the general public. We must consider the dramas with such a background. There are specimens for the type of *Ḍima* and *Vyāyoga*. But since they did not come within what can be called high-class drama, nothing more is said about them. The eight types of minor dramas are called *Bhāṇa, Prahasana, Ḍima, Vyāyoga, Samavākāra, Vīthi, Aṅka (Utsṛṣṭāṅka)* and *Īhāmṛga*. They are described in all books relating to dramaturgy, following Bharata.

VIII. PROSE

The three works, the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa and the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu are recognised as the Classics in Sanskrit Prose. The *Daśakumāracarita* is another. There are others too though they have not attained the same fame as the four noted in the body of the work.

Dhanapāla. The Jains have attempted to write Sanskrit prose works that could rival the works of Bāṇa. Dhanapāla is one of them. He wrote his *Tilakamañjarī*. There is a story associated with the work, a story that has many parallels in Sanskrit Literature as in the case of the *Uttararāmacarita* and the *Māgha* and the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*, where the author burnt the manuscript and then some one else had to reproduce the whole work from memory. The work was written out for the king and it used to be given to him part by part. Before the work was finished, the author lost the favour of the king and the king ordered that the entire manuscript be burnt. But the author had a daughter who had been committing every line of it to memory and so she was able to re-write the whole work from memory. The work bears her name, which is the name of the heroine. The work is an imitation of the *Kādambarī*, with all the features of the *Kādambarī* brought into it, like the style and the descriptions.

Sodhala. His *Udayasundarīkathā* is another good prose romance, which is in 8 *Ucchvāsas*. This deals with the king of Pratiṣṭhāna and his marriage with the daughter of the king of the Nāgaloka, her name being the title of the romance. As in many other works of this category, the author's genealogy and other details along with the occasion for writing the romance are given in the beginning.

Vādibhasiṁha. He was a Jain monk and in his *Gadyacintāmaṇi*, he describes the life of a king by name Satyādhara and his son Jīvandhara. The latter finally takes to asceticism. It is in 11 *Lambakas*.

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Vāmanabhaṭṭabāṇa. He wrote the history of his patron king Vemabhūpāla also known as Vīranārāyaṇa. It is in imitation of Bāṇa, and he wanted to remove from literature the bad name that only Bāṇa could write good prose.

There are many prose works that can stand any test for good prose. They may not come up to the standard of Bāṇa. But that does not mean that they are not good literary productions.

Daṇḍin. The work *Daśakumāracarita* has already been noticed in the main body of the book. There is considerable uncertainty about him and his works. His work on literary criticism is the book for which he is best known. But his simple and lucid language (*padalālitya*) had been recognised by the ancients, and the verse where this is mentioned has been given in the Notes under *Māgha.* This must have reference to a literary work and not to a work on literary criticism. Daṇḍin is known to have written three works. His *Kāvyādarśa* and his *Daśakumāracarita* are accepted as two of them; the other is not definitely fixed. Recently another work has come to light and that is the *Avantisundarīkathā.* The *Daśakumāracarita* does not say that it is a work of Daṇḍin. The name of the work too is not seen in the book. In the *Avantisundarīkathā,* there is a long introduction where the author speaks about his ancestry, and he says that his great-grand-father was Dāmodara who was a friend of Bhāravi. The author definitely says that his own name is Daṇḍin.

All have admitted that the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* is a later addition to make up the early part of the *Daśakumāracarita.* The part now available as the *Avantisundarīkathā* fits into this portion. It may be that what we have as the *Uttarapīṭhikā* of the *Daśakumāracarita* is a continuation of the *Avantisundarīkathā.* This latter work had been published for the early part some years ago and now the whole portion that is available has been published from Trivandrum in 1954. While both the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* and the *Uttarapīṭhikā* are divided into *Ucchvāsas,* this *Avantisundarīkathā* is a continuous work with no such division. Until I study the whole problem I am not able to say which is the work of Daṇḍin, whether the *Uttarapīṭhikā* of the *Daśakumāracarita* is a work of Daṇḍin and a continuation of the *Avantisundarīkathā* or whether the two are distinct works. There is an abridgement of this romance by name *Avantisundarīkathāsāra.* This too is incomplete. This is in verse, divided into cantos.

Campū

The *Rāmāyaṇa Campū* is the standard; but that is not the earliest known work of this pattern. A type called *Campū* must have been

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known even much earlier, and the practice of writing a work in prose and verse intermixed was current for a long line, as literary critics mention this practice. Daṇḍin says: *padyam gadyam ca miśram ca tat tridhaiva vyavasthitam* (I-11).

Siṁhāditya or Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa. His *Damayantīkathā* is perhaps the earliest known work of this type, written in the 10th century. He had not completed it and it is now in 7 cantos. His language has a particular flow.

Somadeva. His *Yaśastilakacampū* is another early work of the type and belongs to the 10th century. This has a Jain touch. It deals with the king and his queen. He accepted the Jain religion and he was assassinated and he was re-born.

Haricandra. His *Jīvandharacampū* is another work of the type with a Jain touch. He may not be the Haricandra mentioned by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita: padabandhojjvalo hārī kṛtavarṇaparigrahaḥ. bhaṭṭāraharicandrasya gadyabandho nṛpāyate* (I-12), though both are prose writers.

Ananta Bhaṭṭa. He wrote his *Bhārata Campū*. It is full of fancies in his descriptions. The poetry can stand by the side of Bhoja. This must be a rather late work, perhaps in the 14th or 15th century. It is a very popular work.

Veṅkatādhvarin. His *Viśvaguṇādarśa* is an original work. It deals with the journey through the sky in a *Vimāna* of two demi-gods named Viśvāsu and Kṛśānu. The former saw the good sides in everything that he saw and the other was the opposite. They see various places and they describe the places and the people in their own light. This must be a fairly recent work. It mentions the Europeans and their ways of life.

In this type also there are innumerable works. All have a good style and are full of artificialities in handling the language and in descriptions. They are all interesting. Some of them have also a historical value. They all show the capacities of the Sanskrit language. They contain rhythmic prose. The only difference between prose and verse is that there is no metre in one and there is metre in the other. The language and the style and the mode of expression are all the same.

As in the other types, here also the theme is taken mainly from the ancient epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata*. Some stories are taken from some of the *Purāṇas*. Some relate to local history and local temples and other places of public interest. There are *Campūs* of a biographical nature. Philosophy too finds its place in this type.

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IX. MINOR TYPES

Sandeśa

Ghatakarpara. His *Kāvya* going by his name is a small one and it is a message sent to the husband by a wife who was in grief on account of separation. It is a good poem. We do not know his real name. The name appears among the "Nine Gems" in the Court of Vikramāditya. His name is very popular as a poet.

There are many poems of this type. Many of them give details about places and as such they have a great interest. It is difficult to make a selection. Among the messages sent by a devotee to the Lord, perhaps the *Haṁsasandeśa* of Veṅkaṭanātha Vedāntadeśika may be mentioned. In the *Cakorasandeśa* of Vāsudeva of Payyur, the message is from the wife to the husband. There are two *Sandeśas* that are very popular in Kerala, in which practically the geography of the whole of Kerala is described. In the *Śukasandeśa* of Divākara, the southern side is described and in the *Kokilasandeśa* of Uddaṇḍa, there is the description of the north. The regions found in the first of these two are also found described in another poem by name *Mayūrasandeśa*, which is by Udaya, the commentator of the *Locana* of Abhinavagupta on the *Dhvanyāloka*. The name of this commentary is *Kaumudī*. This *Sandeśa* is peculiar in its technique. There is an introduction. It is published in the *Poona Oriental Series*. But for such deviations, all of them follow the *Meghasandeśa*.

Bhakti

There is a very beautiful poem on the model of the *Gītagovinda* by Mānaveda of Calicut. It is in eight parts, each part depicting an event in the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. They are *Avatāra, Kāliyamardana, Rāsakrīḍā, Kaṁsavadha, Rukmiṇīsvayaṁvara, Bāṇayuddha, Vividavadha* and *Svargārohaṇa*. They are eight stories and the songs have eight lines like the *Gītagovinda*, which is also called the *Aṣṭapadī*. It is in the form of a drama.

Jagannātha. His *Gaṅgālaharī* is a very popular poem in praise of the Ganges and is an excellent composition.

There are many hundreds and hundreds of good poetry, lyrical, with devotion to the Gods as the theme, where the poet allows his devotion to the God to flow freely in charming poetry.

Short Poems

Jagannātha. His *Jagadābharaṇa* describes the splendour surrounding Dara Shikoh and his liberality. His *Prāṇābharaṇa* describes the King of Kāmarūpa named Prāṇanārāyaṇa. He was a great

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favourite in the court of the Moghul Emperor Shah Jahan. There are various stories current about him and his life in the court.

Bilhaṇa. His *Caurapañcāśika* is a beautiful collection of fifty poems of love with an introductory portion. The king wanted a great scholar to give instruction to his daughter; but he was afraid that if the scholar happened to be a young man there might be danger of their falling in love with each other. It happened that the choice had to fall on Bilhaṇa, a young, handsome man and the best scholar in the region. It was made out that the king's daughter had some skin trouble, and Bilhaṇa did not want to look at her. To the princess the information was given that the new teacher would be a blind man, and she too did not want to see him. So there was a curtain and the teacher and student sat on either side; neither could see the other. One day it was the full-moon. Bilhaṇa was sitting at the window and when he saw the moon rising he recited the verse:

prācībhāge sarāge dariṇi virahiṇi krāntamudre samudre
nidrālau nīrajālau dhṛtamudi kumude kokaloke saśoke
ākāśe sāvakāśe tamasi ca śamite nirvikāre cakore
kandarpe 'nalpadarpe vikirati kiraṇān
śarvarīsārvabhaumaḥ.

There was another verse too describing the moon and the student was surprised that a blind man should describe the moon-rise. She began to suspect that there was some mystery and she lifted the curtain and found the handsome, young man; and Bilhaṇa on his part was surprised to see a very handsome young lady with the purest complexion. They knew the secret and they fell in love with each other. When the king heard about it he ordered that Bilhaṇa should be beheaded and at that moment of despondency he composed the fifty verses. The king later pardoned him. There is a similar story about Daṇḍin. He was in the apartment of the princess and he had to jump through the window to escape detection. There were spikes fixed on the ground below and he fell on them. In this precarious condition when death was only a question of moments he composed five verses, known as *kadā nu pañcaka*. The following two are specimens:

kadā nu kānte suratāntare te paśyāmi tānte vadanāravinde
payassamudroditacandrabimbe piyūṣabindūn iva
gharmabindūn.
mama bhujam upadhānam kalpayitvā tavaikam
pṛthuni jaghanacakre sannidhāya dvitīyam
atharam amṛtakalpam kāmam āsvādya nidrām
varatanu suratānte sevayiṣye kadā nu.

This *kadā nu* is in all the five.

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Haridevamiśra. He was a great poet in the court of Akbar and he composed a hundred verses of love in imitation of the *Amaru Śataka* called the *Śṛṅgārasañjīvinī*. It is printed as an Appendix in the edition of the *Akabarasāhisṛṅgāradarpaṇa*, published from Bikaner.

Abridgements, etc.

The *Avantisundarīkathāsara* has already been mentioned in the Appendix to the last chapter in noticing the *Avantisundarīkathā*. There is a similar *Kādambarīkathāsāra* by Abhinanda who has written the *Rāmacarita*, already noticed in the Appendix to the *Mahākāvyas*. It is in 8 cantos. There is another by Vikramadeva in 13 cantos. The story of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* has been done in the form of verses by *Pūrṇasarasvatī*, who has also commented on the *Meghasandeśa*.

The *Mudrārākṣasa* has two *Pūrvapīṭhikas* where the story of the Nanda king and Candragupta is given. The troubles of Candragupta and his friendship with Cāṇakya and the battle in which the rule of the Nanda king is terminated are described in two stories by two different authors. They are published from Bikaner.

The *Jagadvijayachandas* is a short song by Kavīndrācārya in glorification of Jahan-gir (*Jagat-vijaya*); there are two versions, one short and the other long. Both, with the commentary of the author, are published from Bikaner.

Dara Shikoh has written a *Praśasti* in honour of Nṛsiṁha Sarasvati of Banares; it is rhythmic prose full of alliterations. It is published from the Adyar Library.

The *Aṇūpasiṁhaguṇāvatāra* is an Ode submitted to Anūpasiṁha of Bikaner and is published from Bikaner.

There is a *Praśnamālā*, which contains sixteen questions about the *Raghuvaṁśa* and also answers to them. It is in Manuscript and a copy is with me.

Karṇāvataṁsa is a work written by a court poet of the Bikaner ruler Karṇasiṁha, father of Anūpasiṁha. It also deals with many points of interest at that time. Both of them refer to Dara Shikoh and they also mention the names of many other Muslim rulers who were patrons of Sanskrit. For this too there is a copy with me. King Anūpasiṁha of Bikaner has also written a work called *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇastotra;* the first verse explains the nature of the work.

lakṣmīnārāyaṇaprītyai nānāchandaḥsamanvitam
kurute 'nūpanṛpatir lakṣmīnārāyaṇastutim.

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The verses illustrate the metres in Sanskrit. I have a copy with me.

Yamaka

The *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* has already been mentioned in the Appendix to the *Mahākāvyas* as a *Yamaka Kāvya*. There had been some others also in this field. The chief ones are the *Śaurikathodaya*, dealing with the story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the *Tripuradahana*, dealing with the incident of the Great God Śiva burning the fortresses of the demons called the Tripuras. *Devīcarita*, *Śivodaya*, *Acyutalīlā* and *Satyatapaḥkathā* are still others. The author of the first two is taken to be the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* and the author of the latter four is supposed to be another Vāsudeva, of the Payyūr family. *Nalodaya*, attributed to Kālidāsa is still another. There is also the *Kīcakavadha*, assigned to Kīrtivarman. They are all rather old. The author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* may be even in the ninth century and the Vāsudeva of Payyūr may be not later than the 12th century, though these members of the Payyūr family are taken as contemporaries of Uddaṇḍa (see *Sandeśa* called *Kokila* and *Nāṭaka* called the *Mallikāmāruta* noted above) which must be round about 1500 A.D. Kīrtivarman is also rather early.

Citra

The device of constructing verses which can be written out in the form of a lotus or of a chariot has already been noted in the main book. This has developed into different forms. In that connection the device of writing verses with only a single letter or only two letters, the device of writing verses in such a way that it can be read backward also or can have two menings by the splitting up of the words in different ways, has also been noticed. The *Yamaka* is a kind of device related to this. There are many *Yamaka Kāvyas* of this nature where the letters are the same while the meanings are different in different lines. But there are other devices also adopted by poets. The *Mahākāvyas* like the *Kiratārjunīya* and the *Śiśupālavadha* give instances of verses with only a single letter of the alphabet or only two letters. There is the *Niranunāsika*, where no nasal sound appears. The story relates to *Śūrpaṇakhā* whose nose was cut off by Lakṣmaṇa and who was complaining to Rāvaṇa about her suffering; since she had no nose, she could not pronounce nasals and so the poet does not allow a single nasal to appear. The first verse starts: *re re rākṣasarāja duṣparibhavagrastasya dhik te bhujāḥ*. Here the word *bhuja* can be both masculine and feminine and if it is masculine, as is its general usage, there would be *bhujān* at the end which has the nasal N. So to avoid this the poet used the word in

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the feminine. But it was written for the Chākyār, the Kerala Bard to recite and explain, and when the Chākyār explained it before the king, he said, "I condemn your effeminate hands" in so far as the word is feminine. The poet appreciated this joke, which he had never meant.

Among the poems that can be interpreted in different ways, mention may be made of *Rāmacarita* which narrates in the same set of verses the story of Rāma and of a king who patronised the poet. *Rāghavayādavapāṇḍavīya* narrates three stories at the same time. *Rāmakṛṣṇavilomakāvya* has the first half repeated backwards in the second half and the poem narrates the story of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa at the same time. There are others where even five stories are narrated together in the same set of verses.

Another device is to take the first letter of the lines in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and write the verses with that letter in the beginning. This device has been adopted by many using the *Rāmāyaṇa*. As a matter of fact, the first verse in the different *Kāṇḍas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa Campū* of Bhoja starts with the first letter in the corresponding *Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This has been expanded a little. The poet selects a certain text and takes the beginning of each passage in the text and writes a verse with that in the beginning, and the whole poem consists of verses in this order. The best is the *Haravilāsa* of Parameśvara Bhaṭṭa of Payyūr, where he selects the *Vākyas* of Vararuci and narrates the story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in his poem. The *Vākyas* of Vararuci note the position of the moon in 248 *Sūtras* and each verse begins with the beginning of these *Vākyas*. It is published in the Adyar Library. The same *Vākyas* are taken for another work in which the principles of *Mīmāṁsā* are expounded. The poem is called *Kaumārilayuktimālā*.

All such poems show the prodigious intellect of the poets and their control of the language. They may not be high-class poetry; but they are certainly clever poetry. It must be noted that they do not exhibit any effort and there is no sort of obscurity also in diction.

X. MISCELLANEOUS

Nirukta

Besides the two commentaries on the *Nirukta*, one by Durga Siṁha and the other by Maheśvara, there is a metrical *Vārtikā* on it called the *Niruktavārtikā*. It must be an elaborate explanation of the text. Only a small portion in the beginning is available. Parameśvara cites from it in his commentary called the *Gopālikā* on the

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Sphoṭa Siddhi of Maṇḍana Miśra, published in the *Madras University Sanskrit Series*. I am citing a few lines from the beginning:

agnim vāyum tathā sūryam jyotir ekam tridhā sthitam
praṇipatya subodhārtham niruktam vivṛṇomy aham. 1
niruktam nāma vedāṅgam mantravyākhyānalakṣaṇam
boddhavyam hi prayatnena mantrārtham boddhum
icchatā. 2
mantrārthaviṣayam jñānam na vināneṇa vidyate
ity etad vakṣyate spaṣṭam athāpīdam itīha tu. 3
nanu vyākhyātam evedam bahubhir matimattamaiḥ
na doṣas tatprasādena tad eva spaṣṭayiṣyate. 4
athāpi spaṣṭam evedam tathāpi śraddhayeritaḥ
vyācakṣe 'ham niruktārtham yathāprajñam yathāgamam. 5
arthavattve tu vedasya prāmāṇye ca viniścite
vedam praty aṇgatā cāsya tena tad dvayam ucyate. 6
hitāhitaphalau puṁsām dharmādharmau sasādhanau
vidadhāti svayam vedaḥ pratyakṣāder agocarau. 7
tayor agocaratvam ca pratyakṣāder aśaktitaḥ
pratyakṣāder asāmarthyam jaiminīyāyato..... 8

A copy for the available portion is in my possession.

Grammar

For the *Kāśikā*, there are two more commentaries besides the commentaries of Jinendrabuddhi called the *Nyāsa* and of Haradatta called the *Padamañjari*. For this latter there is a commentary called the *Padamañjarī-makaranda*. The other two commentaries on the *Kāśikā* are by Rāma and by Vidyāsāgara Muni, who has also commented on Śrī Harṣa's *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*. They are called respectively the *Pradīpa* and the *Prakriyāmañjarī*. Both are available only in manuscript. Both are very learned also. According to tradition, the *Padamañjarī* of Haradatta fully represents the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali and there is a verse;

adhīte tu mahābhāṣye mañjaryā kim prayojanam
anadhīte mahābhāṣye mañjaryā kim prayojanam.

The *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra has the commentary called *Prasāda* by Viṭṭhala and both the original and the commentary are severely criticised by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita in his *Prauḍhamanoramā*, the commentary on his *Siddhāntakaumudī*.

Bhartṛhari has written his *Vākyapadīya*, in which he discusses various theories relating to language, its meaning, dialects, formation of words and the nature of the sentences. It is now in three Books, known as *Brahma, Vākya* and *Pada*. It seems that the work was

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in two Books known as *Vākya* and *Pada* and that the third Book of the present day was a separate book called *Prakīrṇaka*. That is the text which I-tsing mentions. He speaks of *Vākyapadīya* and *Prakīrṇaka*. Bhartṛhari's work is in the form of verses in which the main point is given and prose in which the subject is developed. At present only the verses are attributed to Bhartṛhari. In the printed edition, the commentary on the first two Books is assigned to Puṇyarāja and the commentary on the third Book is assigned to Helārāja. But actually the commentary for the first Book in the printed edition is by Bhartṛhari himself and the colophon at the end of the first Book makes the point clear. There are two versions for this; what is printed is a shorter version and the real, longer version with a super-commentary by Vṛṣabhadeva has also been published from Lahore a few years ago. Bhartṛhari and also Puṇyarāja and Helārāja have written commentaries on the verses for all the three Books. But complete copies are not available for any one of them. Bhartṛhari has commented on the *Mahābhāṣya* and that is what Kaiyaṭa refers to as *Hari-setu* in the beginning of his own commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita has written also an explanation of the contents of the *Mahābhāṣya* in his *Śabdakaustubha* which is incomplete; he himself does not seem to have completed the work. He says: *phaṇibhāsitabhāṣyābdheḥ śabdakaustubham uddhare*. It is more or less a running commentary. The available text ends with the second *Pāda* of the third *Adhyāya*.

Daiva with its commentary called the *Puruṣakāra* by Vilvamaṅgala, the poet who composed the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*, noticed under *Bhakti* in the body of the book, and the *Durghaṭavṛtti* are two small works relating to grammar and they have been published from Trivandrum. *Aindra Vyākaraṇa* and *Cāndravyākaraṇa* are two small works belonging to the non-Pāṇinian schools. Bopadeva has his *Mugdhabodha*. The *Daiva* relates to the roots and the *Durghaṭavṛtti* comments on some of the *Sūtras* of Paṇini. The *Dhātupradīpa* is another annotation on the roots and is by Maitreyarakṣita. Mādhava has written an elaborate book on the roots and that book is called the *Dhātuvṛtti*, which has been published from Mysore. There is the *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇi* of Kṣīrasvāmin which also comments on the roots.

It has already been said that Bhaṭṭi has written his *Kāvya* to illustrate the rules of Pāṇini and subjects relating to language and literature. The *Subhadrāharaṇa* is another Kāvya in 20 cantos of the same nature, and still another is the *Vāsudevavijaya* by Vāsudeva, identified with the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*. Following on

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this, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nārāyaṇīya*, noticed in the main Book under *Bhakti*, has continued the poem in his *Dhātukāvya*, illustrating the use of the various forms of the roots. All of them are poems and at the same time, they relate to grammar also.

There is the *Śākatāyana Vyākaraṇa* and the *Bhoja Vyākaraṇa;* both are rather elaborate. This is not the *Śākaṭāyana* noticed by Yāska in his *Nirukta* where he says that according to *Śākaṭāyana* all nouns are derived from roots—*tatra nāmāny ākhyātajanīti Śākaṭāyano nairuktasamayaś ca*, I-12. The work of Bhoja has been commented by Daṇḍanātha.

Most of the works on *Alamkāra* devote a section to considerations of grammar when they consider the *Doṣas*, the mistakes in grammar.

Böhtlingk's edition of Pāṇini with his own comments and with a large number of very exhaustive and useful indices and the explanation of Pāṇini published from the Panini Office, Allahabad, are other notable works on Pāṇini in recent times.

Kośa

Amara's *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* has the commentaries of Kṣīrasvāmin, *Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda* which is called the *Ṭīkāsarvasva* and of Bhānu Dīkṣita, son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. There is also the commentary of Rāyamukuṭa. *Trikaṇḍaśeṣa* by Puruṣottamadeva is a supplement to the work. So is *Hārāvalī*. Śāśvata's *Anekārthasamuccaya*, Halāyudha's *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, Maheśvara's *Viśvaprakāśa* and Keśava's *Nanārthārṇavasaṅkṣepa* are other important ones. *Anekārthaśabdakośa* by Medinīkara is yet another popular one. There are also works like *Ekākṣarakośa*.

LITERARY CRITICISM

In the *Vedas* we find most of the chief elements that formed the theories of literary criticism in later days. (1) The poet's language is different from ordinary language; in a poet's language, one word cannot be replaced by another and the order of the words too cannot be altered and the intonation and other factors in pronunciation should also remain intact. (2) There is a meaning in a poet's language which is not found in the ordinary language and this meaning is three fourths of the word. (3) Only to a poet will the language reveal its beauty. Bharata followed it up by saying that the words express certain meanings while they together convey another meaning which is not contained in any of the constituent words. Beauty is in this latter meaning and that beauty is *Rasa*, what is worthy of being enjoyed (*Āsvādyatā*). There is some one in action (*Nāyaka*) and his action must have a purpose which purpose

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can be served only by the presence of another person, the *Ālambana Vibhāva*. There must be some environment which is the *Uddīpana Vibhāva* and there must be certain consequential moods and behaviours, called the *Anubhāvas, Vyabhicāri Bhāvas* and *Sāttvika Bhāvas*. These various elements can be expressed by language; but the resulting meaning is not in any of the words that express such elements. This is by *Dhvani*, which is not so specified by Bharata. The meaning that is not in ordinary language and that is in a poet's language, as found in the *Vedas*, is also the same *Dhvani*.

Bharata brings in new factors for which I have not seen any mention in the *Vedas*. They are the *Guṇas*, the *Doṣas* and the *Alamkāras*. The *Guṇas* are found in the *Veda* and there is complete absence of *Doṣas* there; there are also the various *Alamkāras*. Perhaps these factors are indicated by the expression—*uśatī suvāsāḥ*—when it is said that only to a poet will language reveal its beauty. The fixed words and the fixed order of the words and the intonation and other factors in pronunciation, are not also specifically mentioned in the *Vedas;* they are only within Vedic tradition. It is Bharata who gave a form and a shape to these factors in the field of literary criticism. In Chapter XVI Bharata speaks of 36 *Lakṣaṇas*, 4 *Alamkāras* (in meaning and sound), with their classifications, 10 *Doṣas* and 10 *Guṇas*. Bharata does not expressly classify them as relating to the language form and to the meaning. But some of them are related to the language form and the others to the meaning.

These three points became the subject matter for the treatises on literary criticism, which were written in later times. I put Bharata to about 300 B.C. latest; perhaps he was slightly earlier. For about eight centuries, we do not see any work on literary criticism. It was Bhāmaha who for the first time wrote out the principles of literary criticism early in the sixth century A.D.

He recognised that in poetry there is an element which can be understood and controlled only by those who have imagination. This imagination is not what can be brought within the sphere of a treatise. So he simply implied this factor in the beginning of the treatise and started on elaborating the three factors, namely, *Guṇas, Doṣas* and *Alamkāras*. For the first time we find that the critic has made a distinction between the three factors as relating to the language form and the meaning. Bhāmaha's book is in six chapters and in them he deals with: General topics about poetry and their divisions, styles, and some common *Doṣas* in *Pariccheda* I; in II the three *Guṇas* and some *Alamkāras*, which go to III; 11 kinds of *Doṣas* in IV and V, the last *Doṣa* being discussed in V, which is extra, not

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mentioned by Bharata; in VI, he discusses again some general topics, more as guides to poets. *Kāvyasvarūpa, Guṇas, Doṣas* and *Alamkāras* form the topic of the treatise.

Daṇḍin is the next critic who has left for us a deailed treatment of the science in his *Kāvyādarśa*. It is divided into three Sections. In some editions, the Third is divided into two separate Sections and thus have four Sections on the whole. He starts with *Kāvyasvarūpa* in the First Section, where he also deals with styles and with the *Guṇas*. The Second deals with Alamkāras in meaning and in the Third he deals with *Śabdālamkāras* and the *Doṣas*. The subject matter is the same as in Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha is more general in his treatment while Daṇḍin is more precise and systematic and methodical. While Bhāmaha has only three *Guṇas*, Daṇḍin has ten. Bhāmaha takes only *Prasāda, Ojas* and *Mādhurya*. *Prasāda* is common to all poetry while *Ojas* or majesty is found in some and *Mādhurya* or sweetness in the others. The date of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha has been noticed in the main book and in the Notes and Appendix.

Vāmana is the next important writer. While both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin wrote their works in verses, Vāmana adopts the *Sūtra* style. His book is divided into five Sections and each Section into chapters. His subject matter is also the same as that of the other two. The general topics about poetry are dealt with in the First Section. In the Second, he divides *Doṣas* into those of *Pada, Vākya* and *Vākyārtha*. The Third Section is devoted to the consideration of the *Guṇas*, ten in number, and distinguishes between *Guṇas* and *Alamkāras*. Even Daṇḍin uses the term *Alamkāra* in a narrower and also in a wider meaning. Generally it means any factor that brings beauty to poetry: *kāvyaśobhākarān dharmān alamkārān pracakṣate* (II-1). Vāmana also says: *Saundaryam alamkāraḥ* (I-i-2). When Bhāmaha gave the title of *Kāvyālamkāra* to his work, he could have had only the idea of what brings beauty to poetry in the term *Alamkarā*. But when he says: *na kāntam api nirbhūṣam vibhāti vanitāmukham*, he had the specific *Alamkāras* in his mind, as is clear from the preceding verse. All of them deal with *Alamkāras* as specific features in poetry. The Fourth Section deals with *Śabdālamkāras, Upamā* and the other *Alamkāras*. In the Fifth Section, he deals more or less with points of a general nature which Bhāmaha takes up in the last section of his work, in the form of directions to poets.

The *Alamkārasarvasva* of Udbhaṭa has been an athoritative work on the *Alamkāras* and is in six sections. It has many commentaries. The work is in verse. Udbhaṭa himself has commented on the work of Bhāmaha and is mentioned by Ānandavardhana in the *Dhvanyā-*

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loka; so his date must be earlier than 850 A.D. Vāmana may be put to about the same time. He must be much later than the Vāmana who wrote the *Kāśikā*. Vāmana is definitely later than Māgha who flourished about 600 A.D. and the *Kāśikā* is definitely not later than about 500 A.D.

Kāvyālamkāra of Rudraṭa covers the same field as Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin and Vāmana. He is far more elaborate and more scientific in his treatment of the points. It is in 16 sections. One Rudrabhaṭṭa has written the *Śṛṅgāratilaka*. They are distinct writers, though their names may be identical, Rudra Bhaṭṭa being Rudraṭa also. There is the *Rasa* portion in Rudraṭa's Kāvyālamkāra and there is great divergence between the subject matter as found in the *Śṛṅgāra Darpaṇa* and in the *Kāvyālamkāra*. Their styles and their methods too are different. Rudraṭa may be in the early ninth century.

The Soul of Poetry was being appreciated, as described in the *Vedas* and in Bharata and as hinted in all the works on poetics in the discussion about *Kāvyasvarūpa*. It is not *Alamkāra* or *Guṇa* or absence of *Doṣas*. But all great poetry contained certain other factors also and such factors are covered by the *Guṇas, Doṣas* and *Alamkāras*. Poetic appreciation began to be confined to the estimate of the three factors found there, and the Soul was being missed or ignored. It was Ānandavardhana who emphasised the Soul of Poetry in his *Dhvanyāloka* in the form of *Kārikās* and their *Vṛtti* by himself. Ānandavardhana emphasises the distinction between defining poetry and appreciating the beauty in poetry. He often speaks of *Kāvyalakṣaṇavidhāyins* who miss the Soul, and *Sahṛdayas* who realise the beauty in poetry. Not one of the writers of an earlier age said that there is a Soul in Poetry. It is true that Vāmana says : *rītir ātmā kāvyasya* (I-1-6); this *Ātman* is different from what Ānandavardhana says: *kāvyasyātmā dhvanir iti* (I-1). Vāmana never has subordinated the other factors to *Rīti* in his treatment of the subject; and the other writers too have not subordinated *Alamkāra* or *Guṇa* to the other factors. In the case of Ānandavardhana, *Dhvani* is the real Soul and all other factors become subordinate to this Soul in poetry. It is true that both Vāmana and Ānandavardhana compare poetry to a human body with a Soul; they say : *śarīrasyeva.*

Ānandavardhana gave a new turn to literary criticism. He never denied for the three factors of literary criticism, dealt with by the earlier writers, a place in estimating poetic values. What he insisted on was that the word has a meaning beyond the two types recognised till then, namely, *Abhidhā* and *Lakṣaṇā*, this meaning being the *Dhvani* and that all the factors are subordinate to the production of this *Dhvani*. It this *Dhvani* that distinguished poetry

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from ordinary language, according to Ānandavardhana. Ānandavardhana's position was accepted by all later writers on literary criticism. A new factor called *Vyañjanā* was added to the two factors called *Abhidhā* and *Lakṣaṇā* as the powers in words to signify meanings. The three traditional factors of *Guṇas, Doṣas* and *Alamkāras* were retained in literary criticism. *Dhvani* became a cardinal factor in literary criticism. It is perhaps Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* that gave literary criticism its new shape and form after the advent of *Dhvani* into the field. This work occupies the same position in *Alamkāra* which the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gangeśopādhyāya occupies in the *Nyāya* system and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita occupies in *Vyākaraṇa*. It was Mammaṭa who set the standard for literary criticism. He adapted the formal criticism to the new system of criticism expounded by Ānandavardhana.

There is a great similarity between the statements in Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* and statements in the *Ṛgveda*. But no writer on the *Alamkāra Śāstra*, starting from Bharata, has made any reference to the *Ṛgveda* in the matter of estimating literary values, either by citing passages as illustrations or by citing the views found in the *Ṛgveda*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* has always been accepted as the *Ādikāvya*, the first poetry, both in the matter of chronology and also in the matter of merit. It was Ānandavardhana who brought the *Mahābhārata* too into this group of the best poetry. But the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* always remained outside of *Alamkāra Śāstra*.

As for *Dhvani* itself, perhaps it was Abhinavagupta who elaborated the theory and established that *Rasadhvani* is the Soul of poetry. *Rasa* pre-supposes "man in action," without which there is no *Rasa*. There may be *Vastu Dhvani* in which there is no need for the appearance of a man in action. But it is in *Rasadhvani* that man's life also comes into poetry. Abhinavagupta explained the position of his predecessors in the matter of the enjoyment of *Rasa* and he gave his own explanation. There he identified *Rasa* realisation with the mystic joy of one in realisation of the Absolute.

There were two writers who questioned the validity of Ānandavardhana's position. Kuntaka in his *Vakroktijīvita* denies an independent position for *Dhvani* and tries to include *Dhvani* in his *Vakrokti*. What gives beauty to poetry is this *Vakrokti*, a twist in statement; in ordinary language, the meaning is expressed directly. Mahimabhaṭṭa in his *Vyaktiviveka* has tried to show that there is no separate power in language called *Dhvani*, it is only a form of inference. Neither of them attracted any notable attention. *Dhvani* was brought into the scheme of the earlier formal school of literary

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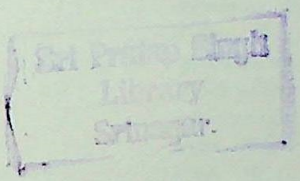
criticism and that has become the real literary criticism after Ānandavardhana.

There was only a formal school of literary criticism and Ānandavardhana started a new school, the school of *Dhvani*. Both coalesced and there arose a single school of literary criticism. The *Vakrokti* and the *Anumāna* schools that came after Ānandavardhana were ignored and never found their way into the field of literary criticism. The *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa is the standard text for this syncretic School.

Nāṭaka was sometimes included within *Alamkāra* works and there were independent works relating to the *Nāṭaka*. *Saṅgīta* and *Abhinaya* took their own course and never got a place within *Alamkāra Śāstra*.

The works of Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane and Dr. S. K. De deal with the entire subject of *Alamkāra Śāstra*.



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